

COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION

OF THE

ERYTHRÆAN SEA;

BEING A TRANSLATION

OF THE

PERIPLUS MARIS ERYTHRÆI,

AWD OF

ARRIAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF NEARKHOS,
YEAR MULTING OF THE LIDGE TO THE HELD OF THE

WITH INTRODUCTIONS, COMMENTARY, NOTES,

BY

J. W McCRINDLE, MA, EDIN,

(Represted, with additions, from the Indian Antiquity)

Calcuita Lombay
THACKER. SPINK & Co ED SOC PRES

Fondon TRUBNER & Co 1879

EOMBAY:

THINIPD AT THE TENTATION SHIPTI'S PARCE, BIGLETA.

REFACE

to my former work, "Ancient d by Megas'henes and Arrian,' ader that it was my intention

time to time translations of the i works which relate to ancient series should be exhausted, and ume is the second instalment towards the alfilment of that undertaking It contains a translation of the Periplus (1 e Circumnationation) of the Erithran Sea. together with a translation of the second part of the India of Arran describing the celebrated voyage made by Nearkhos from the month of the Indus to the head of the Person Gulf Arman's narrative, copied from the Journal of the voyage written by Neukhos himself, forms an admirable supplement to the Periplûs, as it contains a minute description of a part of the Erythrean Coast which is merely glanced at by the author of that work The translations have been prepared from the most approved texts The notes in a few instances only, bear upon points of textual criticism, their main object being to present in a concise form for popular reading the most recent results of learned enquiry directed to verify, correct, or otherwise illustrate the contents of the narratives.

The warm and unanimous approbation bestowed upon the first volume of this series, both by the Press in this country and at home, has given me great encouragement to proceed with the undertaking, and a third volume is now in preparation, to contain the *Indika* of Ktêsias and the account of India given by Strabo in the 15th Book of his Geography.

Patna College, June 1879.

ANONYMI [ARRIANI UT FERTUR]

PERIPLUS MARIS ERYTHREI.

TRANSLATED FROM THE TEXT

As given in the Geographs Grace Misores, el ted ly C Muller Paris, 1822

WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHRÆAN SEA.

INTRODUCTION 1

The Papils of the Erythraan Sea is the title prefixed to a work which contains the best account of the commerce carried on from the Red Sea and the coast of Africa to the East Indies during the time that Egypt was a protince of the Roman empire. The Erythræan Sca was an appellation given in those days to the whole expanse of occar reaching from the coast of Africa to the utmost boundary of ancient knowledge on the East—an appellation in all appearance deduced from the entrance into it by the Struts of the Red Sea, styled Brythra by the Greeks, and not excluding the Guil of Persia.

The author was a Greek merchant, who in the first century of the Christian era had, it would appear, settled at Berenite, a great sepport stanted in the southern extremity of Egypt, wheece he made commercial voyages which carried him to the scaports of Lostern Africa as far as Azania, and to those of Arabia as far as Ks n c, whence, by taking advantage of the south west mousoon, he crossed over to the ports lying on the western aboves of finish. Having made careful

⁷ dr - 1 - 1 - L

title. Stuckius attributed the work to Arrian or Nikomedia, and Fabricius to another Arrian who belonged to Alexandria No one, however, who knows how ancient books are usually treated can ful to see what the real fact here is, viz that, since not only the Periplas Maris Linghran, but also the Anonymi Periplus Ponti Enzini (whereof the latter part occurs in the Heidelberg MS before Arrian's Ponts Persplus) are attributed to Arrian. and the different Arrians are not distinguished by any indications afforded by the titles, there can be no doubt that the well known name of the Nikomedian writer was transferred to the books placed in suxtanguition to his proper works, by the arbitrary judgment of the librarians In fact it very often happens that short works written by different authors are all referred to one and the same author, especially if they treat of the same subject and are published conjointly in the same volume But in the case of the work before us. any one would have all the more readily ascribed it to Arrian who had heard by report anything of the Paraplus of the Erythrean Sca described in that author's Indila On this point there is the utmost unanimity of opinion among writers

That the author, whatever may have been has name, lived in Egypt, is manifest. Thus he says in § 29 "Several of the trees with we in Egypt weep gum," and he joins the name of the Egyptian menths with the Homan as may seen by referring to §§ 6, 34, 49, and off The pass an which he was settled was probably B right amone it was from that worth he embarated at the

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VSLATORS' NOTE.

riginal intention, the English transas to have appeared shortly after the n, which came out in the end of 1875, ned by the author in his preface, was a view to this translation. In conof the death of Professor Childers, a it was in the first instance begun, upervision it would, had he hived, have

had the benefit, the work came to a stand-still, and some time elapsed before the task of continuing and completing it was entrusted to those whose names appear on the titlepage. The manuscript of the translation thus interrupted embraced a considerable part of the text of the first division of the work (Vedic Literature). It had not undergone any revision by Professor Childers, and was found to be in a somewhat imperfect state, and to require very material modification. Upon Mr. Zachariae devolved the labour of correcting it, of completing it as far as the close of the Vedic Period, and of adding the notes to this First Part. none of which had been translated. From the number of changes introduced in the course of revision, the portion of the work comprised in the manuscript in question has virtually been re-translated. The rendering of the second division of the volume (Sanskrit Literature) is entirely and exclusively the work of Mr. Mann.

The circumstances under which the translation has been

produced have greatly delayed its appearance. But for this delay some compensation is afforded by the Supplementary Notes which Professor Weber has written for incorporation in the volume (p. 311 ff.), and which supply information regarding the latest researches and the newest publications bearing upon the subjects discussed in the work. Professor Weber has also been good enough toread the sheets as they came from the press, and the translators are indebted to him for a number of suggestions.

A few of the abbreviations made use of in the titles of works which are frequently quoted perhaps require explanation: e.g., I. St. for Weber's Indische Studien; I. Str. for his Indische Streifen; I. AK. for Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde; Z. D. M. G. for Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, &c.

The system of transliteration is in the main identical with that followed in the German original; as, however, it varies in a few particulars, it is given here instead of in the Author's Preface. It is as follows:—

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July, 1878.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE work of my youth, which here appears in a new edi-

tion, had been several years out of print. To have republished it without alteration would scarcely have done; and, owing to the pressure of other labours, it was impossible for me, from lack of time, to subject it to a complete and systematic remodelling. So the matter rested, At last, to meet the urgent wish of the publisher, I resolved upon the present edition, which indeed leaves the original text unchanged, but at the same time seeks, by means of the newly added notes, to accommodate itself to the actual position of knowledge. In thus finally deciding. I was influenced by the belief that in no other way could the great advances made in this field of learning since the first appearance of this work be more clearly exhibited than precisely in this way, and that, consequently, this edition might at the same time serve in some measure to present, in nuce a history of Sanskrit studies during the last four-and-twenty years. Another consideration was, that only by so doing could I furnish a critically secured basis for the English translation contemplated by Messrs, Trubner & Co., which could not possibly now give the original text alone, as was done in the French translaproduced have greatly delayed its appearance. But for this delay some compensation is afforded by the Supplementary Notes which Professor Weber has written for incorporation in the volume (p. 311 ff.), and which supply information regarding the latest researches and the newest publications bearing upon the subjects discussed in the work. Professor Weber has also been good enough to read the sheets as they came from the press, and the translators are indebted to him for a number of suggestions.

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The obtaining of critical data from the contents of Indian literature, with a view to the establishment of its internal chronology and history—not the setting forth in detail of the subject-matter of the different works—was, from the beginning, the object I had before me in these lectures; and this object, together with that of specifying the publications which have seen the light in the interval, has continued to be my leading point of view in the present annotation of them. To mark off the new matter, square brackets are used.†

The number of fellow-workers has greatly increased during the last twenty-four years. Instead of here running over their names, I have preferred—in order thus to faci-

^{*} Histoire de la Littérature Indienne, trad. de l'Allemand par Alfred Sadous. Paris : A. Durand. 1859.

[†] In the translation, these brackets are only retained to mark new matter added in the second edition to the original notes of the first; the notes which in the second edition were entirely new are here simply indicated by numbers.—Tr.

litate a general view of this part of the subject—to add to the Index, which in other respects also has been considerably enlarged, a new section, showing where I have availed myself of the writings of each, or have at least referred to them. One work there is, however, which, as it underlies all recent labours in this field, and cannot possibly be cited on every occasion when it is made use of, calls for special mention in this place—I mean the Sanskrit Dictionary of Bohtlingk and Roth, which was completed in the course of last summer.* The carrying through of this great work, which we owe to the patronage of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, over a period of a quarter of a century, will reflect lasting honour upon that body as well as upon the two editors.

A. W.

Berlin, November, 1875.

^{*} The second edition bears the inscription: 'Dedicated to my friends, Bohtlingk and Roth, on the completion of the Sanskrit Dictionary.'—TR.

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE lectures herewith presented to the narrow circle of

my fellows in this field of study, and also, it is hoped, to the wider circle of those interested in researches into the history of literature generally, are a first attempt, and as such, naturally, defective and capable of being in many respects supplemented and improved. The material they deal with is too yast, and the means of mastering it in general too inaccessible, not to have for a lengthened period completely checked inquiry into its internal relative chronology-the only chronology that is possible. Nor could I ever have ventured upon such a labour, had not the Berlin Royal Library had the good fortune to possess the fine collection of Sanskrit MSS, formed by Sir R. Chambers, the acquisition of which some ten years ago, through the liberality of his Majesty, Frederick William IV., and by the agency of his Excellency Baron Bunsen, opened up to Sanskrit philology a fresh path, upon which it has already made vigorous progress. In the course of last year, commissioned by the Royal Library, I undertook the work of cataloguing this collection, and as the result a detailed catalogue will appear about simultaneously with these lectures, which may in some sense be regarded as a

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the wider circle of Class magnetics, in researche, into the history of literature generally are a area attempt and a such, naturally, defective and capable of being in many respects supplemented at 6 improved. The material that deal with is too vart, and the means of mastering it in general too inaccessible, not to have for a lengtheness pelicly myletely checked inquiry into its internal relative there are the only thronology that is possible. No would I give live ventured upon such a labour, had not has Berns Loy C Effery had the good fortune to post as the face a thorasm of Sanskrit MSS, formed by the H Time on the world I tof which some ten jede and "mund I beam out he Majorry, Frederick Midfam. IT, and in the comment the Excellency Larry Princip reserve to the control the street person of a state to Elian aller Camp or home to the care and care we from the first the transfer of the second the river of the rest of the or the second of the ب د ما تابسه مایسان Tit " 4115

commentary upon it. Imperfect as, from the absolute point of view, both works must appear, I yet cherish the hope that they may render good service to learning.

How great my obligations are, in the special investigations, to the writings of Colebrooke, Wilson, Lassen, Burnouf, Roth, Reinaud, Stenzler, and Holtzmann, I only mention here generally, as I have uniformly given ample references to these authorities in the proper place.

The form in which these lectures appear is essentially the same in which they were delivered,* with the exception of a few modifications of style: thus, in particular, the transitions and recapitulations belonging to oral delivery have been either curtailed or omitted; while, on the other hand, to the incidental remarks—here given as foot-notes—much new matter has been added.

A. W.

BERLIN, July, 1852.

^{*} In the Winter-Semester of 1851-52.

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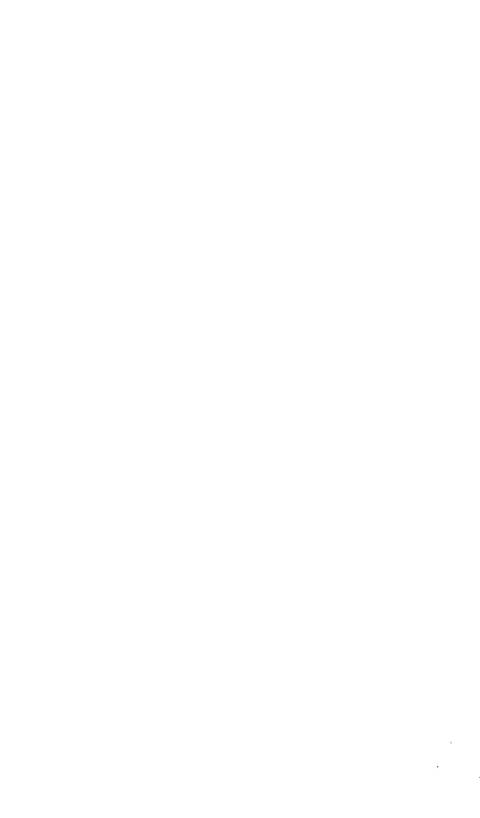
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LECTURES

ON THE

HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

At the very outset of these lectures I find myself in a certain degree of perplexity, being rather at a loss how best to entitle them. I cannot say that they are to treat of the history of "Indian Laterature," for then I should have to consider the whole body of Indian languages, including those of non-Arvan origin. Nor can I say that their subject is the history of "Indo-Aryan Literature;" for then I should have to discuss the modern languages of India also, which form a third period in the development of Indo-Aryan speech. Nor, lastly, can I say that they are to present a history of "Sanskrit Literature;" for the Indo-Aryan language is not in its first period "Sanskrit," i.e, the language of the educated, but is still a popular dialect; while in its second period the people spoke not Sanskrit, but Prakritic dialects, which arose simultaneously with Sanskrit out of the ancient Indo Aryan vernacular. In order, however, to relieve you from any doubt as to what you have to expect from me here, I may at once remark that it is only the literature of the first and second periods of the Indo-Aryan language with which we have to do. For the sake of brevity I retain the name "Indian Literature."

I shall frequently in the course of these lectures be forced to draw upon your forbearance. The subject they discuss may be compared to a yet uncultivated tract of

35.6

country, of which only a few spots have here and there been cleared, while the greater part of it remains covered with dense forest, impenetrable to the eye, and obstructing the prospect. A clearance is indeed now by degrees being made, but slowly, more especially because in addition to the natural obstacles which impede investigation, there still prevails a dense mist of prejudice and preconceived opinions hovering over the land, and enfolding it as with a veil.

The literature of India passes generally for the most ancient literature of which we possess written records, and justly so.1 But the reasons which have hitherto been thought sufficient to establish this fact are not the correct ones: and it is indeed a matter for wonder that people. should have been so long contented with them. In the first place, Indian tradition itself has been adduced in support of this fact, and for a very long time this was considered sufficient. It is, I think, needless for me to waste words upon the futile nature of such evidence. In the next place, astronomical data have been appealed to, according to which the Vedas would date from about 1400 B.C. But these data are given in writings, which are evidently of very modern origin, and they might consequently be the result of calculations 2 instituted for the express purpose. Fur-

1 In so far as this claim may not now be disputed by the Egyptian monumental records and papyrus rolls, or even by the Assyrian literature which has but recently been brought to light.

other hand, the opinion expressed in the first edition of this work (1852), to the effect that the Indians may either have brought the knowledge of these lunar mansions, headed by Krittiká, with them into India, or else have obtained it at a later period through the commercial relations of the Phœnicians with the Panjáb, has recently gained considerably in probability; and therewith the suggestion of Babylon as the mother country of the observations on which this date is established. See the second of my two treatises, Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakshatra (Berlin, 1862), pp. 362-400; my paper, Ueber den Vedakalender Namens Jyotisha (1862), p. 15; I. St., x. 429. ix. 241, ff.; Whitney, Oriental and Linguistic Studies (1874), ii. 418.—Indeed a direct reference to Babylon and its sea trade, in which the exportation of peacocks is mentioned, has lately come to light

² Besides, these calculations are of a very vague character, and do not yield any such definite date as that given above, but only some epoch lying between 1820-860 B.C., see I. St., x. 236; Whitney in Journ. R. A. S., i. 317, ff. (1864). the circumstance that the oldest records begin the series of nakshatras with the sign Krittiká, carries us back to a considerably earlier period even than these dates, derived from the so-called Vedic Calendar, viz., to a period between 2780-1820 B.C., since the vernal equinox coincided with η Tauri (Krittiki), in round numbers, about the year 2300 B.C., see I. St., x. 231 236. But, on the

ther, one of the Buddhist eras has been relied upon, according to which a reformer is supposed to have arisen in the sixth century BC, in opposition to the Brahmanical hierarchy; but the authenticity of this particular era is still extremely questionable. Lastly, the period when Painin, the first systematic grammarian, flourished, has been referred to the fourth century BC, and from this, as a starting-point, conclusions as to the period of literary development which preceded him have been deduced. But the arguments in favour of Painni's having lived at that time are altogether weak and hypothetical, and in no case can they furnish us with any sort of solid basis.

The reasons, however, by which we are fully justified in regarding the literature of India as the most ancient literature of which written records on an extensive scale have

been handed down to us, are these ---

In the more ancient parts of the Rigyeda-Samhıtá, we find the Indian race settled on the north-western borders of India, in the Panjáb, and even beyond the Panjáb, on the Kubhi, or $K\omega\phi_{IP}$, in Kabul. The gradual spread of

of the Berim Academy, p. 622 (1871). As, however, this testimony belongs to a comparatively late period, no great importance can be attached to it.—Direct evidence of ancient com-

would appear to have been already settled on the Indus For the word Lapi, 'ape,' which occurs in 1 Kings x. 22, in the form qff, Gr. κήπος, is

for peacocks (I Kings x. 22, 2 Chron. ix. 21) necessivily implies that already in Solomon's time the Phoenician ophir-merchants "onten affire aut at pays memo des Abbiras con aur un autre point de la côte de

l'Inde arec des peuplades dravidennes," Julien Vinson, Rerue de Linguistique, vi. 120, ff. (1873). See also Burnell, Elements of South Indian Palacography, p 5 (Mangalore, 1874).

y Ur even, as Goldstucker supposes, earlier than Buddha. 4 One of the Vedic Rishis, asserted

to be Vatsa, of the family of Kanya, extola, Rik, viii. 6. 46-48, the splendid presents, consisting of horses, cattle, and ushtras yoked four together-(Roth in the St. Petersburg Dict. explains valifra as 'buffalo, humped bull;' generally it means 'camel')-which, to the glory of the Yadans, he received whilst residing with Tirinidua and Parsu. Or have we here only a single person, Tirimdira Parsu! In the Sankbayant Srauta-Sutra, xvi. II. 20, at least, he is understood as Tirinidira Parasavya. These names suggest Tiridates and the Persians; see J.St., iv. 379, n., but compare Girard de Rialle, Ecrude Linguist., iv. 227 (1872). Of course, we must not think of the

the race from these seats towards the east, beyond the Sarasvatí and over Hindustán as far as the Ganges, can be traced in the later portions of the Vedic writings almost step by step. The writings of the following period, that of the epic, consist of accounts of the internal conflicts among the conquerors of Hindustan themselves, as, for instance, the Mahá-Bhárata; or of the farther spread of Brahmanism towards the south, as, for instance, the Rámávana. If we connect with this the first fairly accurate information about India which we have from a Greek source, viz., from Megasthenes,* it becomes clear that at the time of this writer the Brahmanising of Hindustán was already completed, while at the time of the Periplus (see Lassen, I. AK., ii. 150, n.; I. St., ii. 192) the very southernmost point of the Dekhan had already become a seat of the worship of the wife of Siva. What a series of years, of centuries, must necessarily have elapsed before this boundless tract of country, inhabited by wild and vigorous tribes, could have been brought over to Brahmanism!! may perhaps here be objected that the races and tribes found by Alexander on the banks of the Indus appear to stand entirely on a Vedic, and not on a Brahmanical footing. As a matter of fact this is true: but we should not be justified in drawing from this any conclusion whatever with regard to India itself. For these peoples of the Panjab never submitted to the Brahmanical order of things, but always retained their ancient Vedic standpoint, free and independent, without either priestly domination or system of caste. For this reason, too, they were the objects of a cordial hatred on the part of their kinsmen, who had wandered farther on, and on this account also Buddhism gained an easy entrance among them.

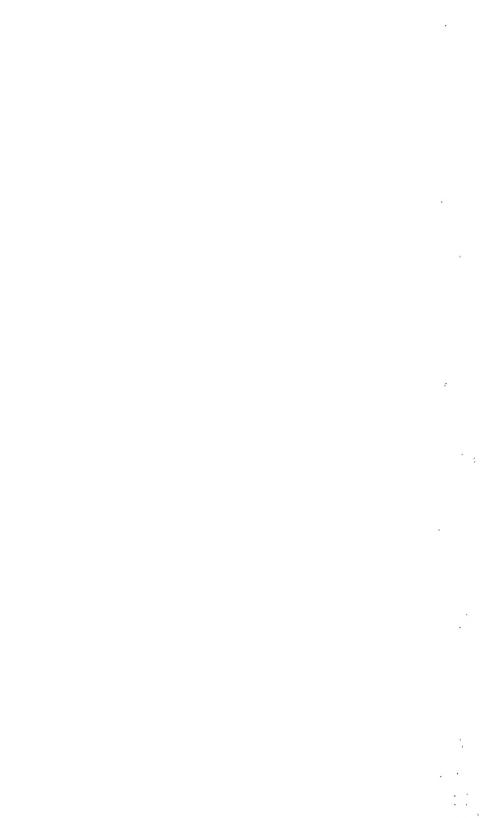
Persians after Cyrus: that would bring us too far down. But the Persians were so called, and had their own princes, even before the time of Cyrus. Or ought we rather, as suggested by Olshausen in the Berliner Monatsberichte (1874), p. 708, to think of the Parthayas, i.e., Parthians, who as well as Pársas are mentioned in the time of the Achæmenidæ? The derivation, hitherto

current, of the word Tiri in Tiridates, &c., from the Pahlaví tîr=Zend tistrya (given, c.g., by M. Bréal, Dc Persicis nominibus (1863), pp. 9, 10), is hardly justified.

* Who as ambassador of Seleucus resided for some time at the court of Chandragupta. His reports are preserved to us chiefly in the Iroaka of Arrian, who lived in the second century A.D.

And while the claims of the written records of Indian literature to a high antiquity-its beginnings may perhaps be traced back even to the time when the Indo-Aryans still dwelt together with the Persa-Aryans-are thus indisputably proved by external, geographical testimony, the internal evidence in the same direction which may be gathered from their contents, is no less conclusive. In the sougs of the Rik, the robust spirit of the people gives expression to the feeling of its relation to nature, with a spontaneous freshness and simplicity; the powers of nature are worshipped as superior beings, and their kindly aid besought within their several spheres. Beginning with this nature-worship, which everywhere recognises only the individual phenomena of nature, and these in the first instance as superhuman, we trace in Indian literature the progress of the Hindu people through almost

1 - are granuarly classified within their different spheres; and a certain unity is discovered among them. Thus we arrive at a number of divine beings, each exercising supreme sway within its particular province, whose influence is in course of time further extended to . the corresponding events of human life, while at the same time they are endowed with human attributes and organs," The number-already considerable-of these natural deities, these regents of the powers of nature, is further increased by the addition of abstractions, taken from ethical relations; and to these as to the other deities divine powers, personal existence, and activity are ascribed. Into this multitude of divine figures, the spirit of inquiry seeks at a later stage to introduce order, by classifying and co-ordinating them according to their principal bearings. The principle followed in this distribution is, like the conception of the deities themselves, entirely borrowed from the contemplation of nature. We have the gods who act in the heavens, in the air, upon the earth; and of these the sun, the wind, and fire are recognised as the main representatives and rulers respectively. These three gradually obtain precedence over all the other gods, who are only looked upon as their creatures and servants. Strength-



logical dates. We must reconcile ourselves to the fact that any such search will, as a general rule, be absolutely fruitless. It is only in the case of those branches of literature which also became known abroad, and also in regard to the last few centuries, when either the dates of manuscripts, or the data given in the introductions or closing observations of the works themselves, furnish us some guidance, that we can expect any result. Apart from this, an internal chronology based on the character of the works themselves, and on the quotations, &c., therein contained, is the only one possible.

Indian literature divides itself into two great periods, the Vedic and the Sanskrit. Turning now to the former, or Vedic period, I proceed to give a preliminary general

outline of it before entering into the details,



will come next under our consideration, and which, providing as they do for a practical want, became necessary immediately upon the institution of a worship with a fixed ntual. For the Samhita of the Saman, and both the Samhitas of the Yajus, consist only of such richas (verses) and sacrificial formulas as had to be recited at the cenmonies of the Soma offering and other sacrifices, and in the same order in which they were practically used; at least, we know for certain, that this is the case in the Yajus. The Samhitá of the Saman contains nothing but verses (richas); those of the Yajus, sentences in 1,700. also. The former, the richas, all recur, with a few exceptions, in the Rik-Samhita, so that the Sama-Samhita is nothing more than an extract from the songs of the latter, of the verses applied to the Soma offering. Now the richas found in the Sama-Sambita and Yajuh-Sambita appear in part in a very-altered form, deviating considerably from the text of the Rik the Rik-Sambita. this a triple explanation is possible. First, there readings may be earlier and more original than those of the Rik, liturgical use having protected them from alteration. while the simple song, not being immediately connected with the sacred rite, was less scrupulously proserved. Or, secondly, they may be later than those of the Rik, and may have arisen from the necessity of precisely adapting the text to the meaning attributed to the verse in its application to the ceremony. Or, lastly, they may be of equal authority with those of the Rik, the discrepancies being merely occasioned by the variety of districts and families in which they were used, the text being most authentic in the district and family in which it originated, and less so in those to which it subsequently passed. All three methods of explanation are alike correct, and in each particular case they must all be kept in view. But if we look more closely at the relation of these verses, it may be stated thus: The richas occurring in the Saint-Samhitia generally stamp themselves as older and more original by the greater antiquity of their grammatical forms; those in the two Samhitas of the Yajus, on the contrary, generally give the impression of having undergone a secondary alteration. Instances which come under the third method of explanation are found in court rally defined: Their object is t songs and formulas with the sa out, on the one hand the other, their In setting forth in its details: L directly explan into its constit nection dogma tion. We thu the oldest ling ratives, and peculiar cha this class, ye their individu this or that. all date from civilisation as and social ord transition, and its' commence The tion.* 🔁 iyidual sage " จร ธนา The

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tatives, were made in different districts by individuals

th there reculsarly analysed for the task. But whether there canislations or digests were now actually written down or ns Śruti. were still transmitted orally only, remains uncertain. The ricct of latter supposition would seem probable from the first that red, and of the same work we here and there find two text; entimated tirely differing in their details. Nothing defails Line mselves ever, can be said on the subject, for in these cases there re conmay mestaly have been some fundamental difference in Śrati 13 the original, or even a fresh treatment of the marking Sútras. It was moreover, but natural that these every less all aid a use of frequently come into collision and commit with each when Hence we have now and then to remark the d by the exhibition of strong animosity against those who in the iounde l sarkor's opinion are heterodor. The proportions: forme gradually gained by some of these with ever the rest—whether by reason of their intrassic value, co of 23the etymufart that their author appealed more to the livering for regardling-line, spirit - has resulted, unfortunately for us, in the grap oneffbte te ton of these only, while works representative of the L Petera-Juted of inions have for the most Just disciplant. Hertriung of c origin . and there perhaps in India some fragments may still be Trock and found; in general, however, here as everywhere in It it. 101, 1) 254. fie je 127. taniue, we encounter the innertable for the fire hih Indian works which, in the end, came off victorious, Live 22 ---Lerror 12 entirely supplanted and effaced their predecess in Africa tor secular ful ed ante al a comparatively large number of Erzt-zero is give er Muller. errar - a then metable which is enjected to afficial to a fine and a second to a fine a second to a secon 1, v 20, ff , r (Panin) hare each annexed to a particular Vela as well as to al. that the far the a cost of petry jedoury had above the contract of petry jedoury had above the contract of the cost of the i met ainei west.ne

area the lamines in which the early of the Company Victor 164 Esteblished transmitted. They in the case of the seal with all less as had one to be onof the light authory large loss Interests applied to learned significants of the Bergman's 200 The early delay promise which have a fit to be promise to the contract of the The computer plants. The property as a present of the computer plants. The property as a present of the computer plants are consistent of the computer plants are consistent of the computer plants. (1) A has a service and a principle of the control the control of the co

gradually more and more lost, and passed over to the Sútras, &c. To the number of the Bráhmanas, or recensions of the Samhitás, which were thus lost, belong those of the Váshkalas, Paingins, Bhállavins, Sátyáyanins, Kálabavins, Lámakáyanins, Śámbuvis, Khádáyanins, and Śálankáyanins, which we find quoted on various occasions in writings of this class; besides all the Chhandas works (Samhitás) specified in the gana 'Śaunaka' (Pán., iv. 3. 106), whose names are not so much as mentioned elsewhere.

The difference between the Brahmanas of the several Vedas as to subject-matter is essentially this: The Brahmanas of the Rik, in their exposition of the ritual, generally specify those duties only which fell to the Hotar, or reciter of the richas, whose office it was to collect from the various hymns the verses suited to each particular occasion, as its śastra (canon). The Bráhmanas of the Sáman confine themselves to the duties of the Udgatar, or singer of the samans: the Brahmanas of the Yajus, to the duties of the Adhvaryu, or actual performer of the sacrifice. the Bráhmanas of the Rik, the order of the sacrificial performance is on the whole preserved, whereas the sequence of the hymns as they occur in the Rik-Samhitá is not attended to at all. But in the Brahmanas of the Saman and Yajus, we find a difference corresponding to the fact that their Samhitás are already adapted to the proper order of the ritual. The Bráhmana of the Sáman enters but seldom into the explanation of individual verses; the Bráhmana of the White Yajus, on the contrary, may be almost considered as a running dogmatic commentary on its Samhitá, to the order of which it adheres so strictly, that in the case of its omitting one or more verses, we might perhaps be justified in concluding that they did not then form part of the Samhitá. A supplement also has been added to this Brahmana for some of those books of the Samhita which were incorporated with it at a period subsequent to its original compilation, so that the Brahmana comprises 100 adhyayas instead of 60, as formerly seems to have been the case. The Brahmana of the Black Yajus does not as we shall see further on, differ in its contents, but only in point of time, from its Samhita. It is, in fact, a supplement to it. The Brahmana of the

Atharvan is up to the present time unknown, though there

are manuscripts of it in England 8

The common name for the Brithmana literature is gruti, 'hearing,' ic, that which is subject of hearing, subject of exposition, of teaching, by which name their learned, and consequently exclusive, character is sufficiently intimated. In accordance with this we find in the works themselves frequent warnings against intrusting the knowledge contained in them to any profane person. The name Sruti is not indeed mentioned in them, but only in the Sútras, though it is perfectly justified by the corresponding use of the verb gru which occurs in them frequently.

The third stage in Vedic literature is represented by the Sutras.* These are, upon the whole, essentially founded

 It has since been published, see below. It presents no sort of direct internal relation to the Ath Sambith.

The word Satra in the above

thread, 'land,' cf. Lat succ. Would it be current or grant as an expression analogous to the German brad (polume). If so, the term would have to be understood of the fastening together of the leaves, and would necessarily presuppose the existence of writing (in it earne way, perhaps, as grantha does, a term just occurring in Idunit), Inquiry into the origin of Indam.

runt refer the origin of the Satras. But as these were composed chiefly with a view to their being committed to memory—a fect which follows from their form, and partly accounts for it—there might be good grounds

for taking exception to the etymology just proposed, and for regard. ing the signification 'guiding-line,' 'clue,' as the original one. [I'his is the meining given in the St. Petersburg Dictionary .- The writing of the Indians is of Semitic origin ; see Benfey, Indien (in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædin, 1840), p. 254; my Indusche Slizen (1856), p. 127, ff.; Burnell, Elem. of South Indian Pal, p. 3, ff. Probably it served in the first instance merely for secular purposes, and was only applied subsequently to literature. See Muller, Anc S. Lit., p. 507; I. St , v 20, ff.; I. Str., 11 339. Goldstucker (Panini, 1860, p. 26, ff) contends that the words sutra and grantha must absolutely be connected with writing See, however. I. St , v. 24, ff.; xui 476] - Nor does etymology lead us to a more certain result in the case of another word found in this connection, viz., akshara, 'syllable.' This word does not seem to occur in this sense in the Samhita of the Rik (or S.Imm); it there rather signifies 'mperishable ' The connecting link between this primary agnification and the meaning 'syliable,' which is first met with in the Samhita of the Yajus, might perhaps be the idea of writing, the latter being the making imperishable, as it were, of off

on the Brahmanas, and must be considered as their necessary supplement, as a further advance in the path struck out by the latter in the direction of more rigid system and formalism.9 While the Brahmanas, with the view of explaining the sacrifice and supporting it by authority, &c., uniformly confine themselves to individual instances of ritual, interpretation, tradition, and speculation, subjecting these to copious dogmatic treatment, the object of the Sútras is to comprehend everything that had any reference whatever to these subjects. The mass of matter became too great; there was risk of the tenor of the whole being lost in the details; and it gradually became impossible to discuss all the different particulars consecutively. Diffuse discussion of the details had to be replaced by concise collective summaries of them. The utmost brevity was, however, requisite in condensing this great mass, in order to avoid overburdening the memory; and this brevity ultimately led to a remarkably compressed and enigmatical style, which was more and more cultivated as the literature of the Sútras became more independent, and in proportion as the resulting advantages became apparent. Thus the more ancient a Sútra, the more intelligible it is; the more enigmatical it is, the more modern will it prove.*

But the literature of the Sútras can by no means be said to rest entirely upon the Bráhmanas, for these, as a rule, give too exclusive a prominence to the ritual of the sacrifice. Indeed, it is only one particular division of the Sútras—viz., the Kalpa-Sútras, aphorisms exclusively devoted to the consideration of this ritual ¹⁰—which bears

fleeting and evanescent words and syllables (!). Or is the notion of the imperishable hóyos at the root of this signification? [In the Errata to the first German edition it was pointed out, on the authority of a communication received from Professor Aufrecht, that akshara is twice used in the Rik of the 'measuring of speech,' viz., i. 164. 24 (47), and ix. 13. 3, and consequently may there mean 'syllable.' According to the St. Petersburg Dictionary, this latter meaning is to be derived from the idea of 'the constant, simple 'element in language.]

9 On the mutual relations of the Bráhmanas and Sútras, see also I. St.,

viii. 76, 77; ix. 353, 354.

* Precisely as in the case of the Bráhmanas, so also in the case of the Kalpas, i.e., Kalpa-Sútras, Pánini, iv. 3. 105, distinguishes those composed by the ancients from those that are nearer to his own time.

10 On the sacrifice and sacrificial implements of the Srauta-Sútras, see M. Müller in Z. D. M. G., IX. xxxvi.-lxxxii.; Haug's notes to his translation of the Aitareya-Bráhmana; and my paper, Zur Kenntniss des vedischen Opferrituals, I. St., x. xiii.

he special name of Śrauta-Sútras, i.e., "Sútras founded on the Sruti." The sources of the other Sútras must be ought elsewhere.

Side by side with the Śrauta-Sútras we are met by a second family of ritual Sútras, the so-called Grihya-Sútras, which treat of domestic ceremonies, those celebrated at birth and before it, at marriage, as well as at death and after it. The origin of these works is sufficiently indi-

cated by their title, since, in addition to the name of Grihva-Sútras, they also bear that of Smarta-Sútras, i.e., "Sútras founded on the Smriti." Smriti, 'memory, i.e.,

that which is the subject of memory, can evidently only be distinguished from Sruti, 'hearing,' ie., that which is the subject of hearing, in so far as the former impresses itself on the memory directly, without special instruction regrision for the purpose. It belongs to all, it is the

k as no whole people, it is supported by the contherefore need to be spe-, law are common property

on the contrary, though in mmon consciousspeculations and

· far the property mstances, underinspire the people with a due awe of the and sanctity of their institutions. It is not,

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e assumed from this that Smriti, custom and also undergo considerable alterations in the course (ne. The mass of the immigrants had a great deal to such on their hands in the subjugation of the abongine to be in a position to occupy themselves with other may ters. Their whole energies had, in the first instance, to be concentrated upon the necessity of holding

their own against the enemy. When this had been effected and resistance was broken down, they awoke suddenly to find themselves bound and shackled in the lands of other and far more powerful enemies; or rather, they did not awake at all; their physical powers had been so long and so exclusively exercised and expended to the detriment of their intellectual energy, that the latter had

gradually dwindled away altogether. The history of there new enemies was this: The knowledge of the ancient songs

with which, in their ancient homes, the Indians had worshipped the powers of nature, and the knowledge of the ritual connected with these songs, became more and more the exclusive property of those whose ancestors perhaps composed them, and in whose families this knowledge had been hereditary. These same families remained in the possession of the traditions connected with them, and which were necessary to their explanation. To strangers in a foreign country, anything brought with them from home becomes invested with a halo of sacredness; and thus it came about that these families of singers became families of priests, whose influence was more and more consolidated in proportion as the distance between the people and their former home increased, and the more their ancient institutions were banished from their minds by external struggles. The guardians of the ancestral customs, of the primitive forms of worship increasingly prominent position, became the crimmatice tives of these, and, finally, the representative as the literatives and in pro that itself. For so ably had they used their of they succeeded in founding a hierarchy th gible it is ave the world has never seen. To this position it prove. been scarcely possible for them to attain bu vating climate of Hindustan, and the mode by it, which exercised a deteriorating influvitual of a race unaccustomed to it. The families also vision kings who had formerly reigned over indivision tribes, kings who had formerly reigned over indiclusive tribes, held a more prominent position in the larger regions which were of necessity founded in Hindustan and thus arose the military caste. Lastly, the people troper, the Visas, or settlers, united to form a third caste, and they in their turn naturally reserved to themselves prerogatives over the fourth caste, or Súdras. This last was composed of various mixed elements, partly, perhaps, of an Aryan race which had settled earlier in India, partly of the aborigines themselves, and partly again of those among the immigrants, or their Western kinsmen, who refused adherence to the new Brahmanical order.

^{*} Who were distinguished by their colour, for caste. [See I. St., x. 4, very colour from the three other 10.] castes; hence the name varna, i.e.

families, the warriors, who, it may be supposed, strenuously supported the priesthood so long as it was a question of robbing the people of their rights, now that this was effected turned against their former allies, and sought to throw off the yoke that was likewise laid upon them. These efforts were, lowever, unavailing; the colossus was too firmly established. Obscure legends and isolated allusions are the only records left to us in the later writings, of the sacrilegious hands which ventured to attack the sacred and divinely consecrated majesty of the Brahmans; and these are careful to note, at the same time, the terrible punishments which befell those impious offenders. The fame of many a Barbarossa has here massed away and been forgotten!

The Smarta-Sutras, which led to this digression, generally exhibit the complete standpoint of Brahmanism. Whether in the form of actual records or of compositions orally transmitted, they in any case date from a period when more than men cared to lose of the Smriti-that precious tradition passed on from generation to generation-was in danger of perishing. Though, as we have just seen, it had undergone considerable modifications, even in the families who guarded it, through the influence of the Brahmans. yet this influence was chiefly exercised with reference to its political bearings, leaving domestic manners and customs " untouched in their ancient form; so that these works cover a rich treasure of ideas and conceptions of extreme antiquity. It is in them also that we have to look for the beginnings of the Hindu legal literature.12 whose subject-matter, indeed, in part corresponds exactly to theirs, and whose authors bear for the most part the same names as those of the Grihya-Sútras. With the strictly legal portions of the law-books, those dealing with

(1854), and M. Muller, ibid, IX. 1.-xxxvi. (1855); and lastly, O. Donner's Pindapiriyajna (1870).

¹¹ For the ritual relating to birth see Speijer abook on the Jackerman (Leyden, 1872)—for the marriage ceremonies, Haar's puer, Weber due Meiratheyebrauche der alten Index, with additions by myself in I. S. v. 267, ff.; abo my paper Vedusche Hecknettsprucke, that p. 177, ff. (1852)—on the burnal of the dead, look in Z. D. M. G., vill. 487, ff.

¹² Besides the Gribya-Sátras we find some texts directly called Dharma-Sútras, on Símayáchánka-Sútras, which are specified as portions of Srauta-Sútras, but which were no doubt subsequently inserted into these.

civil law, criminal law, and political law, we do not, it is true, find more than a few points of connection in these Sútras; but probably these branches were not codified at all until the pressure of actual imminent danger made it necessary to establish them on a secure foundation. The risk of their gradually dying out was, owing to the constant operation of the factors involved, not so great as in the case of domestic customs. But a far more real peril threatened them in the fierce assaults directed against the Brahmanical polity by the gradually increasing power of Buddhism originally proceeded purely from theoretical heterodoxy regarding the relation of matter to spirit, and similar questions; but in course of time it addressed itself to practical points of religion and worship, and thenceforth it imperilled the very existence of Brahmanism, since the military caste and the oppressed classes. of the people generally availed themselves of its aid in order to throw off the overwhelming yoke of priestly domination. The statement of Megasthenes, that the Indians in his time administered law only $d\pi \delta$ $\mu\nu\eta\mu\eta_S$, 'from memory,' I hold therefore to be perfectly correct, and I can see no grounds for the view that μνήμη is but a mistranslation of Smriti in the sense of Smriti-Šástra, 'a treatise on Smriti.'* For the above-mentioned reason. however—in consequence of the development of Buddhism into an anti-Brahmanical religion—the case may have altered soon afterwards, and a code, that of Manu, for example (founded on the Mánava Grihya-Sútra), may have been drawn up. But this work belongs not to the close of the Vedic, but to the beginning of the following period.

As we have found, in the Smriti, an independent basis for the Grihya-Sútras—in addition to the Bráhmanas, where but few points of contact with these Sútras can be traced—so too shall we find an independent basis for those Sútras the contents of which relate to language. In this case it is in the recitation of the songs and formulas at the sacrifice that we shall find it. Although, accordingly, these

^{*} This latter view has been best nell, Elements of S. Ind. Palæogr., set forth by Schwanbeck, Megas-p. 4] thenes, pp. 50, 51. [But see also Bur-

Sútras stand on a level with the Bráhmanas, which owe their origin to the same source, yet this must be understood as applying only to those views on linguistic relations which, being presupposed in the Sútras, must be long anterior to them. It must not be taken as applying to the works themselves, inasmuch as they present the results of these antecedent investigations in a collected and systematic form. Obviously also, it was a much more natural thing to attempt, in the first instance, to elucidate the relation of the prayer to the sacrifice, than to make the form in which the prayer itself was drawn up a subject of investigation. The more sacred the sacrificial performance grew, and the more fixed the form of worship gradually became, the greater became the importance of the prayers belonging to it, and the stronger their claim to the utmost possible purity and safety. To effect this, it was necessary, first, to fix the text of the prayers; secondly, to establish a correct pronunciation and recitation; and lastly, to preserve the tradition of their origin. It was only after the lapse of time, and when by degrees their literal sense had become foreign to the phase into which the language had passed—and this was of course much later - the case with the priests, who were familiar with them, than with the people at large—that it became necessary to take precautions for securing and establishing the sense also. To attain all these objects, those most conversant with the subject were obliged to give instruction to the ignorant, and circles were thus formed around them of rimages from one teacher

re attracted by the fame rehes were naturally not but embraced the whole

range of Brahmancal theology, extending in like manner to questions of worship, dogma, and speculation, all of which, indeed, were closely interwoven with each other. We must, at any rate, assume among the Brahmans of this period a very stirring intellectual life, in which even the women took an active part, and which accounts still further for the superiority maintained and exercised by the Brahmans over the rest of the people. Nor did the military caste hold aloof from these inquiries, especially after they had succeeded in securing a time of repose from

external warfare. We have here a faithful copy of the scholastic period of the Middle Ages; sovereigns whose courts form the centres of intellectual life; Brahmans who with lively emulation carry on their inquiries into the highest questions the human mind can propound; women who with enthusiastic ardour plunge into the mysteries. of speculation, impressing and astonishing men by the depth and loftiness of their opinions, and who-while in a state which, judging from description, seems to have been a kind of somnambulism—solve the questions proposed to them on sacred subjects. As to the quality of their solutions, and the value of all these inquiries generally, that is another matter. But neither have the scholastic subtleties any absolute worth in themselves; it is only the striving and the effort which ennobles the character of any such period.

The advance made by linguistic research during this epoch was very considerable. It was then that the text of the prayers was fixed, that the redaction of the various Samhitás took place. By degrees, very extensive precautions were taken for this purpose. For their study (Pátha), as well as for the different methods of preserving them—whether by writing or by memory, for either is possible 13—such special injunctions are given, that it seems

by the rest of the Brahmans. On the other hand, Goldstücker, Böhtlingk, Whitney, and Roth (Dcr Atharvavcda in Kashmir, p. 10), are of the opposite opinion, holding, in particular, that the authors of the Prátišákhvas must have had written texts before them. Benfey also formerly shared this view, but recently (Einleitung in die Grammatik der ved. Sprache, p. 31), he has expressed the belief that the Vedic texts were only committed to writing at a late date, long subsequent to their 'diaskeuasis.' Burnell also, l. c., p. 10, is of opinion that, amongst other things, the very scarcity of the material for writing in ancient times "almost precludes the existence of MSS. of books or long documents."

¹³ All the technical terms, however, which occur for study of the Veda and the like, uniformly refer to speaking and reciting only, and thereby point to exclusively oral tradition. The writing down of the Vedic texts seems indeed not to have taken place until a comparatively late period. See I. St., v. 18, ff. (1861). Müller, Anc. S. Lit., p. 507, ff. (1859); Westergaard, Ucher den ältesten Zeitraum der indischen Geschichte (1860, German transla-tion 1862, p. 42, ff.); and Haug, Ueber das Wesen des vedischen Accents (1873, p. 16, ff.), have declared themselves in favour of this theory. Haug thinks that those Brahmans who were converted to Buddhism were the first who consigned the · Veda to writing—for polemical purposes—and that they were followed

all but impossible that any alteration in the text, except in the form of interpolation, can have taken place since. These directions, as well as those relating to the pronun-· ciation and recitation of the words, are laid down in the Prátišákhya-Sútras, writings with which we have but recently been made acquainted.* Such a Prátišákhya-Sútra uniformly attaches itself to the Samhitá of a single Veda only, but it embraces all the schools belonging to it; it gives the general regulations as to the nature of the sounds employed, the euphonic rules observed, the accent and its modifications, the modulation of the voice, &c. Further, all the individual cases in which peculiar phonetic or other changes are observed are specially pointed out; 14 and we are in this way supplied with an excellent critical means of arriving at the form of the text of each Samhita at the time when its Prátisákhya was composed. If we find in any part of the Samhitá phonetic peculiarities which we are unable to trace in its Prátisákhya, we may rest assured that at that period this part did not yet belong to the Samhitá. The directions as to the recital of the Veda, i.e., of its Samhitá, t in the schools-each individual word being repeated in a variety of connections-present a very lively picture of the care with which these studies were pursued.

For the knowledge of metre also, rich materials have been handed down to us in the Sütras. The singers of the hymns themselves must naturally have been cognisant of the metrical laws observed in them. But we also find the technical names of some metres now and then mentioned in the later songs of the Rik. In the Bráhmanas the oddest tricks are played with them, and their harmony is in some mystical fashion brought into connection with the harmony of the world, in fact stated to be its funda-

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^{*} By Roth in his essays, Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda, p. 53, ff (translated in Journ &s. Soc. Bengal, January 1848, p. 6, ff). 14 This indeed is the real purpose

¹⁴ This indeed is the real purpose of the Práusákhya, namely, to show how the continuous Samhitá text is to be reconstructed out of the Pada text, in which the individual words of the text are given

separately in their original form, unaffected by samdhi, i.e., the influence of the words which immediately precede and follow. Whatever else, over and above this, is found in the Prátiáikhyas is merely accessory matter. See Whitney in Journal Am. Or. Soc. jiv. 259 (1853).

⁺ Strictly speaking, only these (the Samhitas) are Veda.

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mental cause. The simple minds of these thinkers were too much charmed by their rhythm not to be led into these and similar symbolisings. The further development of metre afterwards led to special inquiries into its laws. Such investigations have been preserved to us, both in Sútras 15 treating directly of metre, e.g., the Nidána-Sútra. and in the Anukramanis, a peculiar class of works, which, adhering to the order of each Samhitá, assign a poet, a metre, and a deity to each song or prayer. They may, therefore, perhaps belong to a later period than most of the Sútras, to a time when the text of each Samhitá was already extant in its final form, and distributed as we there find it into larger and smaller sections for the better regulation of its study. One of the smallest sections formed the pupil's task on each occasion.—The preservation of the tradition concerning the authors and the origin of the prayers is too intimately connected herewith to be dissociated from the linguistic Sútras, although the class of works to which it gave rise is of an entirely different character. The most ancient of such traditions are to be found, as above stated, in the Bráhmanas themselves. These latter also contain legends regarding the origin and the author of this or that particular form of worship; and on such occasions the Bráhmana frequently appeals to Gáthás, or stanzas, preserved by oral transmission among the It is evidently in these legends that we must look for the origin of the more extensive Itihasas and Puránas, works which but enlarged the range of their subject, but which in every other respect proceeded after the same fashion, as is shown by several of the earlier fragments preserved, e.g., in the Mahá-Bhárata. The most ancient work of the kind hitherto known is the Brihaddevatá by Śaunaka, in ślokas, which, however, strictly follows the order of the Rik-Samhitá, and proves by its very title that it has only an accidental connection with this class of works. Its object properly is to specify the deity for each verse of the Rik-Samhitá. But in so doing, it supports its views with so many legends, that we are fully justified in classing it here. It, however, like the other Anukramanis, belongs to a much later period than most

¹⁵ See Part i. of my paper on Indian Prosody, I. St., viii. 1, ff. (1863).

of the Sútras, since it presupposes Yáska, the author of the Nirukti, of whom I have to speak presently; it is, in fact, essentially based upon his work. [See Adalb. Kuhn

in I. St , i. 101-120]

It was remarked above, that the investigations into the literal sense of the prayers only began when this sense had gradually become somewhat obscure, and that, as this could not be the case among the priests, who were familiar with it, so soon as amongst the rest of the people, the language of the latter may at that time have undergone considerable modifications. The first step taken to render the prayers intelligible was to make a collection of synonyms, which, by virtue of their very arrangement, expending the state of the control of the

These

"strung together," Nigranthu, corrupted into Nighantu," and those occupied with them Naighantukas. One work of this kind has been actually preserved to us 16 five books, of which the three first contain synonyms; the fourth, a list of specially difficult Vedic words; and the fifth, a classification of the various divine personages who figure in the Veda. We also possess one of the ancient expositions of this work, a commentary on it, called Nirukti, "interpretation," of which Yaska is said to be the author. It consists of twelve books, to which two others having no proper connection with them were afterwards added. It is reckoned by the Indians among the so-called Vedángas, together with Siksha, Chhandas, and Jyotisha -three very late treatises on phonetics, metre, and astronomical calculations-and also with Kalpa and Vyákarana, ie, ceremonial and grammar, two general categories of literary works. The four first names likewise originally signified the class in general,17 and it was only later that they were applied to the four individual works

^{*} See Roth, Introduction to the Nirukti, p. xii.

¹⁶ To this place belong, further, the Nighantu to the Atherra-S, mentioned by Haug (cf. I. St., 12. 175, 176,) and the Nigama-Parisishta of the White Yajus.

N Sikehá still continues to be the name of a species. A considerable number of treatises so entitled have recently been found, and more are constantly being brought to light, Cf. Kielhorn, I. St., xiv. 160.

now specially designated by those titles. It is in Yaska's work, the Nirukti, that we find the first general notions of grammar. Starting from the phonetic rules, the observance of which the Prátisákhva-Sútras had already established with so much minuteness—but only for each of the Veda-Samhitás-advance was no doubt gradually made, in the first place, to a general view of the subject of phonetics, and thence to the remaining portions of the domain of language. Inflection, derivation, and composition were recognised and distinguished, and manifold reflections were made upon the modifications thereby occasioned in the meaning of the root. Yaska mentions a considerable number of grammatical teachers who preceded him, some by name individually, others generally under the name of Nairuktas, Vaivákaranas, from which we may gather that a very brisk activity prevailed in this branch of study. To judge from a passage in the Kaushitaki-Bráhmana, linguistic research must have been carried on with peculiar enthusiasm in the North of India; and accordingly, it is the northern, or rather the north-western district of India that gave birth to the grammarian who is to be looked upon as the father of Sanskrit grammar, Pánini. Now, if Yaska himself must be considered as belonging only to the last stages of the Vedic period, Panini-from Yáska to whom is a great leap—must have lived at the very close of it, or even at the beginning of the next period. Advance from the simple designation of grammatical words by means of terms corresponding to them. in sense, which we find in Yaska, to the algebraic symbols of Pánini, implies a great amount of study in the interval. Besides, Pánini himself presupposes some such symbols as already known; he cannot therefore be regarded as having invented, but only as having consistently carried out a method which is certainly in a most eminent degree suited to its purpose.

Lastly, Philosophical Speculation also had its peculiar development contemporaneously with, and subsequently to, the Bráhmanas. It is in this field and in that of grammar that the Indian mind attained the highest pitch of its marvellous fertility in subtle distinctions, however abstruse or naïve, on the other hand, the method may

occasionally be.



of philosophers, the $B\rho a\chi \mu \hat{a} \nu \epsilon_S$ and the $\Sigma a\rho \mu \hat{a} \nu a \iota$, yet we should hardly be justified in identifying the latter with the Buddhist mendicants, at least, not exclusively; for he expressly mentions the ὑλόβιοι—i.c., the Brahmachárins and Vánaprasthas, the first and third of the stages into which a Brahman's life is distributed—as forming part of the Σαρμάναι. The distinction between the two sects probably consisted in this, that the Braxmares were the "philosophers" by birth, also those who lived as householders (Grihasthas); the Σαρμάναι, on the contrary, those who gave themselves up to special mortifications, and who might belong also to other castes. The Hoáuvai, mentioned by Strabo in another passage (see Lassen, I. AK. i. 836), whom, following the accounts of Alexander's time, he describes as accomplished polemical dialecticians, in contradistinction to the Boax paves, whom he represents as chiefly devoted to physiology and astronomy, appear either to be identical with the Σαρμάναι—a supposition favoured by the fact that precisely the same things are asserted of both-or else, with Lassen, they may be regarded as Prámánas, i.e., founding their belief on pramána, logical proof, instead of revelation. As, however, the word is not known in the writings of that period, we should in this case hardly be justified in accepting Strabo's report as true of Alexander's time, but only of a later age. Philosophical systems are not to be spoken of in connection with this period; only isolated views and speculations are to be met with in those portions of the Bráhmanas here concerned, viz., the so-called Upanishads (upanishad, a session, a lecture). Although there prevails in these a very marked tendency to systematise and subdivide, the investigations still move within a very narrow and limited Considerable progress towards systematising, and expansion is visible in the Upanishads found in the Aranyakas,* i.e., writings supplementary to the Bráhmanas, and specially designed for the ὑλόβιοι; and still greater progress in those Upanishads which stand by themselves, i.e.,

^{*} The name Aranyaka occurs first in the várttika to Pán. iv. 2. 129 [see on this, I. St., v. 49], then in Manu, iv. 123; Yájnavalkya, i. 145 (in both

passages in contradistinction to 'Veda'), iii. 110, 309; and in the Atharvopanishads (see I. St., ii. 179).

those which, although perhaps originally annexed to a Brahmana or an Áranyaka of one of the three older Vedas, have come down to us at the same time-or, it may be, have come down to us only-in an Atharvan recension. Finally, those Upanishads which are directly attached to the Atharva-Veda are complete vehicles of developed philosophical systems; they are to some extent sectarian in their contents, in which respect they reach down to the time of the Puranas. That, however, the fundamental works now extant of the philosophical systems, viz., their Sútras, were composed much later than has hitherto been supposed, is conclusively proved by the following considerations In the first place, the names of their authors are either not mentioned at all in the most modern Brahmanas and Aranyakas, or, if they are, it is under a different form and in other relations-in such a way, however, that their later acceptation is already foreshadowed and exhibited in the germ. Secondly, the names of the sages mentioned in the more ancient of them are only in part identical with those mentioned in the latest liturgical Sútras. thirdly, in all-of them the Veda is expressly presupposed as a whole, and direct reference is also made to those Upanishads which we are warranted in recognising as the latest real Upanishads; nay, even to such as are only found attached to the Atharvan. The style, too, the enigmatical conciseness, the mass of technical terms-although these are not yet endowed with an algebraic force-imply a long previous period of special study to account for such precision and perfection. The philosophical Sútras, as well as the grammatical Sútra, should therefore be considered as dating from the beginning of the next period, within which both are recognised as of predominant authority.

In closing this survey of Vedic literature, I have lastly to call attention to two other branches of science, which, though they do not appear to have attained in this period to the possession of a literature—at least, not one of which direct relues and records have reached us—must yet have enjoyed considerable cultivation—I mean Astronomy and Medicine. Both received their first impulse from the exigencies of religious worship. Astronomical observations—though at first, of course, these were only of the

rudest description-were necessarily required for the regulation of the solemn sacrifices; in the first place, of those offered in the morning and evening, then of those at the new and full moon, and finally of those at the commencement of each of the three seasons. Anatomical observations, again, were certain to be brought about by the dissection of the victim at the sacrifice, and the dedication of its different parts to different deities. The Indo-Germanic mind, too, being so peculiarly susceptible to the influences of nature, and nature in India more than anywhere else inviting observation, particular attention could not fail to be early devoted to it. Thus we find in the later portions of the Vájasaneyi-Samhitá and in the Chhándogyopani-shad express mention made of "observers of the stars" and "the science of astronomy;" and, in particular, the knowledge of the twenty-seven (twenty-eight) lunar mansions was early diffused. They are enumerated singly in the Taittiriva-Samhitá, and the order in which they there occur is one that must necessarily* have been established somewhere between 1472 and 536 B.C. Strabo, in the above-mentioned passage, expressly assigns ἀστρονομία as a favourite occupation of the Boaxpaves. Nevertheless, they had not yet made great progress at this period; their observations were chiefly confined to the course of the moon, to the solstice, to a few fixed stars, and more particularly to astrology.

As regards Medicine, we find, especially in the Samhita of the Atharvan, a number of songs addressed to illnesses and healing herbs, from which, however, there is not much to be gathered. Animal anatomy was evidently thoroughly understood, as each separate part had its own distinctive name. Alexander's companions, too, extol the Indian physicians, especially for their treatment of snake-bite.

^{*} See I. St., ii. 240, note. [The seems to be that contained in the correct numbers are rather 2780- Jyotisha, we obtain the years 1820-1820 B.C., see I.St., x. 234-236 (1866); Soo, ibid. p. 236, ff. See further and for the bharant series, which the remarks in note 2 above.]

From this preliminary survey of Vedic literature we now pass to the details. Adhering strictly to the Indian classification, we shall consider each of the four Vedas by itself, and deal with the writings belonging to them in their proper order, in connection with each Veda separately.

And first of the Rigreda. The Rigreda-Samhilá presents a twofold subdivision—the one purely external, having regard merely to the compass of the work, and evidently the more recent; the other more ancient, and based on internal grounds. The former distribution is that into eight ashfakas (eighths), nearly equal in length, each of which is again subdivided into as many adhyayas (lectures), and each of these again into about 33 (2006 in all) rargas (sections), usually consisting of five verses.18 The latter is that into ten mandalas (circles), 85 anuidkas (chapters), 1017 silitas (hymns), and 10,580 richas (verses): it rests on the variety of authors to whom the hymns are Thus the first and tenth mandalas contain rongs by Rishis of different families; the second mandala, on the contrary (asht. ii. 71-113), contains songs belonging to Gritsamada; the third (asht. ii. 114-119, iii. 1-56) belongs to Viśvámitra; the fourth (asht. iii. 57-114) to Vámadeva; the fifth (ash!. iii. 115-122, iv. 1-79) to Atri; . the sixth (ashf. iv. 80-140, v. 1-14) to Bharadvaja; the seventh (ash!. v. 15-118) to Vasishtha; the eighth (asht. v. 119-129, vi. 1-81) to Kanva; and the ninth (asht. vi. \$2-124, vii 1-71) to Angiras.19 By the names of these Rishis we must understand not merely the individuals, but also their families. The hymns in each separate mandala are arranged in the order of the deities addressed.19. Those addressed to Agni occupy the first place, next come those

¹⁵ For particulars see I. St., ini. editos); the minth 7 an. 114 s.; and 255 ; Muller, Anc. S. Lit., p. the tenth 12 an 191 s.

¹⁹ The first exceedala contains 24 anunikas and 191 sultas; the second 4 an. 43 2; the third 5 an. 62 : the tourth 5 an 58 s ; the fifth 6 an. \$7 s; the sixth 6 an. 75 s; the serenth 6 an. 104 s; the eighth to ca. 92 & (besides 11 milakhilya.

¹⁹⁰ Delbrück, in his review of Sie-

benzig Lieder der Regreda fet, note 32) in the Jenaer Literaturzeitung (1875, p. 867), points out that in books 2-7 the Lymns to Agni and Indra are arranged in a descending gradation as regards the number of Terses.

to Indra and then those to other gods. This at least is the order in the first eight mandalas. The ninth is addressed solely to Soma, and stands in the closest connection with the Sáma-Samhitá, one-third of which is borrowed from it: whereas the tenth mandala stands in a very special relation to the Atharva-Samhita. The earliest mention of this order of the mandalas occurs in the Aitareva-Áranyaka, and in the two Grihya-Sútras of Ásvaláyana and Sánkháyana. The Prátisákhyas and Yáska recognise no other division, and therefore give to the Rik-Samhitá the name of dasatayyas, i.e., the songs "in ten divisions," a name also occurring in the Sáma-Sútras. The Anukramaní of Kátvávana, on the contrary, follows the division into ashtakas and adhyayas. The name súkta, as denoting hymn, appears for the first time in the second part of the Brahmana of the White Yajus; the Rig-Bráhmanas do not seem to be acquainted with it, 20 but we find it in the Aitareya-Aranyaka, &c. The extant recension of the Rik-Samhitá is that of the Sákalas, and belongs specially, it would seem, to that branch of this school which bears the name of the Saisirivas. another recension, that of the Váshkalas, we have but occasional notices, but the difference between the two does not seem to have been considerable. One main distinction, at all events, is that its eighth mandala contains eight additional hymns, making 100 in all, and that, consequently, its sixth ashtaka consists of 132 hymns.21 The name of the Sakalas is evidently related to Sakalva, a sage often mentioned in the Bráhmanas and Sútras, who is

formed part of the eighth mandala. When I wrote the above I was probably thinking of the Válakhilyas, whose number is given by Sáyana, in his commentary on the Ait. Br., as eight (cf. Roth, Zur Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, p. 35; Haug, on Ait. Br., 6. 24, p. 416), whereas the editions of Müller and Aufrecht have eleven. But as to whether these eight or eleven Válakhilyas belong specially to the Váshkalas, I cannot at present produce any direct evidence. On other differences of the Váshkala school, &c., see Adalb. Kuhn, in I. St., i. 108, ff.

know the word not only in the above, but also in a technical sense, viz., as a designation of one of the six parts of the sastra ('canon'), more especially of the main substance of it; when thus applied, súkta appears in a collective meaning, comprising several súktas. Cf. Sankh. Bráhm., xiv. 1.

²¹ I am at present unable to corroborate this statement in detail. I can only show, from Saunaka's Anuvákánukramaní, that the recension of the Váshkalas had eight hymns more than that of the Sákalas, but not that these eight hymns

stated by Yáskaz to be the author of the Padapátha* of the Rik-SamhitᆠAccording to the accounts in the Brihmana of the White Yajus (the Satapatha-Brihmana), a Sákalya, surnamed Vidagdha (the cunning?), lived contemporaneously with Yájnavalkya as a teacher at the court of Janaka, King of Videha, and that as the declared adversary and rival of Yájnavalkya. He was vanquished and cursed by the latter, his head dropped off, and his bones were stolen by robbers.—Várkali also (a local form of Váshkah) is the name of one of the teachers mentioned in the second part of the Satapatha-Brihmana.²³

The Sikalas appear in tradition as intimately connected with the Sunakas, and to Saunaka in particular a number of writings are attributed, which he is said to have composed with a view to secure the preservation of the text (rigredaguptaye), as, for instance, an Anukramani of the Rishis, of the metres, of the detices, of the anuxidus, of the hymns, an arrangement (? Vidhána) of the verses and their constituent parts.²¹ the above-mentioned Brihaddevatá,

on Nir. iv. 4; see Roth, p. 39, in-

troduction, p. lyni.

This is the designation of that peculiar method of rectung the Vela method of the text stands by itself, unmedified by the enhanced manages it has to undergunder connected with the preceding and following words (Seeabore, 23).

If it name arens to point to

Las see also Burmonf, Introduction of Elliet, du Buddh., p. 620, ff. The passure in the sitre of Panni, iv. 3. 128, has no local reference jon the data from the Malithdalya brazing on this peint, see J. 87, xin. 300, 372, 490, 428, 431. On the other hand, we find Sklyra sho in the Kosala country in Kapilarastu, of whom, Lower, as of the Sklit yanha in the bajus, we do not exactly know what to make (see below). [The earliest mention of the word Sklita, in inmediate reference

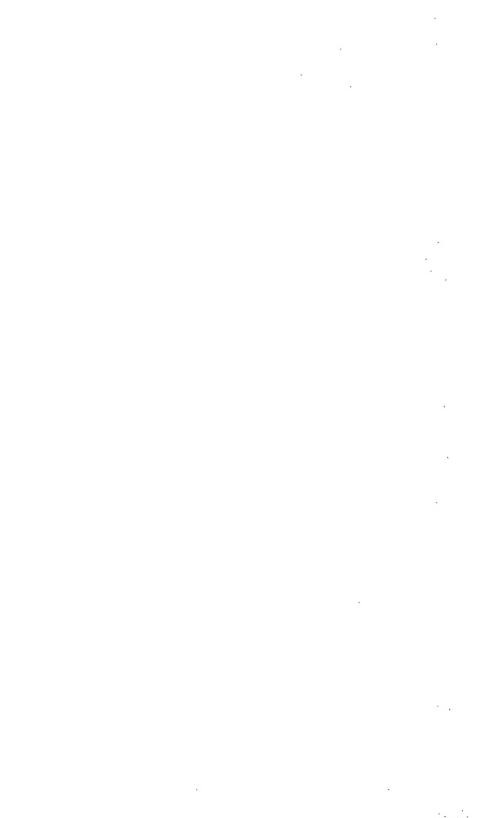
to the Rik, occur in a memorial reres, syngaptid, quoted in the Att. Britim, in. 31 tees I. St. in. 27?).—For the same Sairity at can only cite the prawra section added at the close of the Availyana-Srauta-Satra, in which the Six is are mentioned several times, partly by themselves, partly beside and in association with the Singar.

The form of name, which right be triced to ryikala, occurs also in the Sinkh iyana Aranyaka, viii. 2. "nittleabarram Varkalino brikatir ahar akhisampulayanai; "thoughthe parallel pasage in the Aitar, Aruny, iii. S., otherwise similarly norded, reads intered of "Varkaling," ut.

(i.e , rai) Arlalino!"

Try Stadgurosisbya, in the introduction to his commentary on the Rip-Anukramani of Katyayara,

²⁴ Eather two Vallatin texts (see below), the one of which I we for it object the application of particular richar, the other probably that of particular pidits, to superstitious purp ses, after the marrer of the Simuribilities Frikmana.



and this was probably accomplished, in the case of both Vec Ŧ

as I

This is most clearly shown by the mythological and geo-

graphical data contained in them.

The former, the mythological relations, represented in the older hymns of the Rik, in part carry us back to the primitive Indo-Germanic time. They contain relics of the childlike and naive conceptions then prevailing, such as may also be traced among the Teutons and Greeks. So, for instance, the idea of the change of the departed spirit into air, which is conducted by the winged wind, as by a faithful dog, to its place of destination, as is shown by the identity of Sarameya and 'Eppeias, * of Sabala and Κέρβερος.† Further, the idea of the celestial sea. Varuna. Oupavos, encompassing the world; of the Father-Heaven, Dyaushpitar, Zeús, Diespiter; of the Mother - Earth, Δημήτηρ: of the waters of the sky as shining nymphs; of the sun's rays as cows at pasture; of the dark cloud-god as the robber who carries off these maidens and cows; and of the mighty god who wields the lightning and thunderbolt, and who chastises and strikes down the ravisher; and other such notions ! Only the faintest outlines of 3 yet discernible; it will

es claim and obtain, in position exactly analo-

gous to that which has already, in fact, been secured by comparative Indo-Germanic grammar in relation to classical grammar. The ground on which that mythology has hitherto stood trembles beneath it, and the new light about to be shed upon it we owe to the hymns of the Rigveda, which enable us to glance, as it were, into the workshop whence it originally proceeded §

^{*} See Kuhp, in Haupt's Deutsche

Zeitschrift, vs. 125, ff. † I. St., ii. 297, ff. [and, still ear-lier, Max Muller; see his Chips from a German Workshop, iL 182]. \$ See Kuhn, I.c., and repeatedly in the Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Sprachforschung, edited by him , jointly with Aufrecht (vol. i., 1851).

[§] See Z. D. M. G., v. 112. [Since I wrote the above, comparative mythology has been enriched with much valuable matter, but much also that is crude and fanciful has been advanced. Deserving of special mention, besides various papers by Adalb. Kuhn in his Zeitschrift, are two papers by the same author, entitled,



of the myth had become entirely obliterated. Indra is there but the quarrelsome and jealous god, who subdues the unwieldy giant by low cunning; and in the Indian epic the myth either still retains the same form, or else Indra is represented by a human hero, Arjuna, an uncarnation of himself, who makes short work of the giant, and the kings who pass for the incarnations of the latter. The principal figures of the Mahá-Bhárata and Rámáyana fall away like the kings of Firdúsí, and there remain for history only those general events in the story of the people to which the ancient myths about the gods have been applied. The personages fade into the background, and in this representation are only recognisable as poetic creations.

Thirdly, the songs of the Rik unfold to us particulars as to the time, place, and conditions of their origin and growth. In the more ancient of them the Indian people appear to us settled on the banks of the Indus, divided into a number of small tribes, in a state of mutual hostility, leading a patriarchal life as husbandmen and nomads; living separately or in small communities, and represented by their kings, in the eyes of each other by the wars they wage, and in presence of the gods by the common sacrifices they perform. Each father of a family acts as priest in his own house, himself kindling the sacred fire, performing the domestic ceremonies, and offering up praise and prayer to the gods. Only for the great common sacrifices-a sort of tribe-festivals, celebrated by the king-are special priests appointed, who distinguish themselves by their comprehensive knowledge of the requisite rites and by their learning, and amongst whom a sort of rivalry is gradually developed, according as one tribe or another is considered to have more or less prospered by its sacrifices. Especially prominent here is the enmity between the families of Vasishtha and Visvamitra, which runs through all Vedic antiquity, continues to play an important part in the epic, and is kept up even to the latest times; so that, for example, a commentator of the Veda who claims to be descended from Vasishtha leaves passages unexpounded in which the latter is stated to have had a curse imprecated upon him. This implacable hatred owes its origin to the trifling circumstance of Vasishtha



what was its principal cause, is still uncertain. Was it the pressure brought about by the arrival of new settlers? Was it excess of population? Or was it only the longing for the beautiful tracts of Hindustán? Or perhaps all these causes combined? According to a legend preserved in the Brihmana of the White Yajus, the priests were in a great measure the cause of this movement, by urging it upon the kings, even against their will [I. St., i. 178]. The connection with the ancestral home on the Indus remained, of course, at first a very close one; later on, lowever, when the new Brahmanical organisation was completely consolidated in Hindustán, a strong element of bitterness was infused into it, since the Brahmans looked upon their old kinsmen who had remained true to the customs of their forefathers as apostates and unbelievers

But while the origin of the songs of the Rik dates from this primitive time, the redaction of the Rik-Samhitá only took place, as we observed, at a period when the Brahmanical hierarchy was fully developed, and when the Kosala-Videhas and Kuru-Paāchālas,* who are to be rearded as having been specially instrumental in effecting it, were in their prime. It is also certain that not a few of the songs were composed either at the time of the emigration itself. Such songs are to be found in the last book especially, a comparatively large portion of which, as I have already remarked, recurs in the Atharvaveda-Samhitá. It is for the critic to determine approximately in the case of each individual song, having regard to its con-

scribed in this eye had been fourth ont long before the final arrangement of the Rik-Samhitt! It is, however, questionable whether the Samtanu of the Mahd-Bhárata is identical with the Samtanu mentioned in the Rik; or, even if we take this for granted, whether he mar not merely have been associated with the eye lecend is moorem ray foreign. Dr. Tap, at Icas, there is not the same than the same representation of the same re

[•] Manda'a x, oS is a dialogue between Derbig and Simiano, the two 'Kaurargau,' as Yaka cells them. In the Mabh-Bhata Samtanu is the name of the father of Bhithma and Vichitraritya, by whose two wives, Ambika and Ambilika, Yaka became the father of Diptarishira and Indoa. This same of the part of the Manhallians.
Yandayas, the belligerate in the Mahh-Bhatat. We should then have to suppose that the feud de-have the part of the pa

having once been appointed chief sacrificial priest instead of Visvamitra by one of the petty kings of these early min influence of these royal priests does not, howearly period, extend beyond the sacrifice; ster as yet; the people is still one united e name, that of risas, settlers, ably elected, is called Viśpati, a anian. The free position held We find songs of ·markable. uted to poetesses and queens, Atri approx in the foremost ider, element is not t the stamp of is, however, ulers of the aited prayer. ecognition of . the beings šame time dependent : is estabntly wantgods is as and I will right on no grace. iousness, a sicture of die we are deavoured gradually ov degrees estan, and it what it

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what was its principal cause, is still uncertain. Was it the pressure brought about by the arrival of new settlers? Was it excess of population? Or was it only the longing for the beautiful tracts of Hindustán? Or perhaps all these causes combined? According to a legend preserved in the Bráhmana of the White Yajus, the priests were in a great measure the cause of this movement, by urging it upon the kings, even against their will [I. St. i. 18]. The connection with the ancestral home on the Indus remained, of course, at first a very close one, later on, however, when the new Brahmanical organisation was completely consolidated in Hindustán, a strong element of bitterness was infused into it, since the Brahmans looked upon their qld kinsmen who had remained true to the customs of their forefathers as apostates and unbelievers.

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scribed in this epic had been fought out long before the final arrangement of the Ruk-Sambild1 It is, however, questionable whether the Samtanu of the Mahd-Bhárata is identical with the Samtanu mentioned in the Ruk or, even if we take this for granted, whether he may not merely have been associated may not merely have been associated promain. Dergift, at least, who, according to Yakks, is his brother, has in the Ruk a different father from the one given in the epic. See J. St., i. 203.

^{*} Manda'a x, 9S in a dialogue between Derfin and Samtanu, the two 'Kauracryau', as Yaka calls them. In the Mahd-Bhārats Samtanu is the name of the father of Bhiehma and Vichitravirya, by whose two wires, Ambika and Amldilkd, Yakas became the father of Dhitarashira and Paéqua. This Samtanu is, therefore, the grandather of these latter, or the greatgrandfather of the Kauravas and Pandyras, the belligerents in the Mahd-Bhārata. We should thus have to suppose that the feed de-

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the groundwork and the outlines of this ancient edifice.20 Besides the powers of nature, we find, as development progresses, personifications also of spiritual conceptions, of ethical import; but the adoration of these, as compared

with the former, is of later origin.

I have already discussed the precautions taken to secure the text of the Rik-Samhitá, ie, the question of its authenticity, and I have likewise alluded to the aids to its explanation furnished by the remaining Vedic literature These latter reduce themselves chiefly to the Nighantus. and the Nirukta of Yaska 50 Both works, in their turn, found their commentators in course of time. For the Nighantus, we have the commentary of Devarájavajvan, who belongs to about the fifteenth or sixteenth century In the introduction he enlarges upon the history of their study, from which they appear to have found only one other complete commentator since Yaska, viz, Skandasvámin. For Yáska's Nirukta a commentary has been handed down to us dating from about the thirteenth century, that of Durga Both works, moreover, the Nighantus as well as the Nirukta, exist in two different recensions These do not materially differ from one another. and chiefly in respect of arrangement only, but the very fact of their existence leads us to suppose that these works were originally transmitted orally rather than in writing A commentary, properly so called, on the Rik-Samhitá, has come down to us, but it dates only from the fourteenth century, that of Sáyanáchárya.* "From the long series of

person who pays them, and leave

I. St., viii 96, 245, 246,

²⁹ Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. v. (1870), is the best source of information for Vedic mythology.

³º This name appears both in the Vansas in the last book of the Satap Br., and in the Kandanukrama of the Atreyi school, where he is called Paings, and described as the pupil of Vaisampayana, and teacher of Tittiri. From Pan., ii. 4. 63, it

again is quoted by Pánıni; see I. St., 1ii. 475. A direct reference to Yaska is made in the Rik-Prat. and in the Britisddevata; see also * The circumstance that com-

mentaries on almost all branches of the Vedas, and on various other important and extensive works as well, are ascribed to Sayana and his brother Madhava, is to be explained by the practice prevailing in India by which works composed by order of some distinguished person bear his name as the author. So in the present day the Pandits work for the

tents, its ideas, its language, and the traditions connected with it, to what period it ought possibly to be ascribed. But as yet this task is only set; its solution has not yet even begun.²³

The deities to whom the songs are for the most part addressed are the following:—First, Agni, the god of fire. The songs dedicated to him are the most numerous of all—a fact suff indicative of the character and import of these s in the messenger from men to the god in the sacrifice, however to the sacrifice, however

e rest adored essentially as an elemental force. e attribute of the god t number of songs is mighty log of the der the C · auds, ay des 🍍 ess er of ns, utif ed on ė des he

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Tittiri. From Pin., ii. 4. 63, it follows that Pinini was cognisant of

mentioned in the Kithaka, which

centuries* between Yáska and Sáyana but scanty remains of an exegetic literature connected with the Rik-Samhitá are left to us, or, at any rate, have as yet been discovered. Samkara and the Vedántic school turned their attention chiefly to the Upanishads. Nevertheless, a gloss upon a portion at least of the Rik-Samhitá was drawn up by Anandatirtha a pupil of Samkara, of which there is an exposition by Jayatirtha, comprising the second and third adhnayas of the first ashtaka, in the Library of the India House in London." Sáyana himself, in addition to Durga's commentary on the Nirukti, only quotes Bhatta Bháskara Miśra and Bharatasvámin as expositors of the Vedas.31 The former wrote a commentary upon the Taitt. Yajus. not the Rik-Samhita, in which he refers to Kasakritsna. Ekachúrni, and Yáska as his predecessors in the work. For Bharatasvámin we have no further data than that his name is also cited by Devarája (on the Nighantus), who further mentions Bhatta Bháskara Miśra, Mádhavadeva, Bhavasvámin, Guhadeva, Śrínivása, and Uvatta. latter, otherwise called Uata, wrote a commentary on the

the fruit of their labour to him as his property. Mádhava, and probably also Sayana, were ministers at the court of King Bukka at Vijayanagara, and took advantage of their position to give a fresh impulse to the study of the Veda. The writings attributed to them point, by the very difference of their contents and style, to a variety of authorship. [According to A. C. Burnell, in the preface to his edition of the Vansa-Brahmana, p. viii., ff. (1873), the two names denote one person only. Sayana, he says, is "the Bhoganátha, or mortal body, of Mádhava, the soul identified with Vishnu." Burnell is further of opinion that the twenty-nine writings current under the name of Madhava all proceed from Mádhava himself, unassisted to any large extent by others, and that they were composed by him during a period of about thirty of the fifty-five years between 1331-1386 A.D., which he spent as abbot of the monastery at Sringeri, under

the name Vidyáranyasvámin. See my remarks to the contrary in Literarisches Centralblatt (1873), p. 1421. Burnell prefers the form Vidyánagara to Vijayanagara. Cowell, in his note our Colebr., Misc. Ess., i. 235, has Vidyá° and Vijaya° side by side.]

* See Roth, Zur Litt., p. 22. 31 To these have to be added Skandasvámin (see p. 41) and Kapardin (see below); and as anterior to Sáyana we must probably regard the works of Atmananda, Ravana, and Kausika (or is the latter identical with Bhatta Kausika Bhaskara Miśra? cf. Burnell, Catalogue of Vedic MSS., p. 12), and the Gúdhártharatnamálá; Burnell, Vanšabr., p. xxvi., ff.; Müller, in the preface to his large edition of the Rik-Samhitá, vol. vi. p. xxvii., ff. Some. extracts from Ravana's commentary have been published by Fitz-Edward Hall in Journal As. Soc. Beng., 1862, pp. 129-134.

Samhitá of the White Yajus, not the Rik-Samhitá, as well as commentaries on the two Prátisákhyas of the Rik and

the White Yains.

As regards European researches, the Rik-Samhita, as well as the other Vedas, first became known to us through Colebrooke's excellent paper "On the Vedas," in the As. Res. vol. viii, (Calc. 1805). To Rosen we are indebted for the first text, as given partly in his Rigredæ Specimen (London, 1830), partly in the edition of the first ashtaka, with Latin translation, which only appeared after the early death of the lamented author (ibid 1838). Since then, some other smaller portions of the text of the Rik-Samhita have here and there been communicated to us in text or translation. especially in Roth's already often quoted and excellent Abhandlungen zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda (Stuttgart, 1846). The entire Sambıta, together with the commentary of Sayana, is now being published, edited by Dr. M. Muller of Oxford, at the expense of the East India Company: the first ashtaka appeared in 1840. At the same time an edition of the text, with extracts from the commentary, is in course of publication in India. From Dr. M. Muller, too, we may expect detailed prolegomena to his edition, which are to treat in particular of the position held by the songs of the Rik in the history of civilisation. A French translation by Langlois comprises the entire Samhita (1848-1851); it is, of course, in many respects highly useful, although in using it great caution is necessary. An English translation by Wilson is also begun, of which the first ashtaka only has as yet appeared.32

Judea, Nos. 1-4 (Calc. 1849), only reaches to the end of the second adhydya. A fragment of the text, edited by Sterenson so long ago as 1833, extends but a little farther (i. 1-25). —Of Wilson's translation, five volumes have appeared; the last, in 1866, under the editorship of Cowell, brings it up to mand.

²² Muller's edition of the text, together with the commentary of Sáyans, a complete index of words, and list of gratikas, is now complete, in six vols., 1849–1875. He text of the first mandala, in samulation and the six of the first mandala, in samulation with the six of the six mandala, in samulation with the six of the six mandala, in samulation with the six of the whole to mandalas, likewise in double form (London, likewise in double form (London)).

We now turn to the Brahmanas of the Rik.

Of these, we have two, the Aitarcya-Bráhmana and the Śánkháyana- (or Kaushítaki-) Bráhmana. They are closely connected with one another,* treat essentially of the same matter, not unfrequently, however, taking opposite views of the same question. It is in the distribution of their matter that they chiefly differ. In the Sankhayana-Brahmana we have a perfectly arranged work, embracing on a definite plan the entire sacrificial procedure; but this does not seem to be the case in an equal degree in the Aitareya-Bráhmana. The latter, moreover, appears to treat exclusively of the Soma sacrifice; whereas in the former it merely occupies the principal place. Sáñkháyana-Bráhmana we meet with nothing at all corresponding to the last ten adhyayas of the Aitareya-Bráhmana, a gap which is only filled up by the Sánkháyana-Sútra; and for this reason, as well as from internal evidence, it may perhaps be assumed that the adhyayas in question are but a later addition to the Aitareya-Bráhmaña. In the extant text, the Aitareya-Bráhmana contains 40 adhyáyas (divided into eight pañchikás, or pen-

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* See on this I. St., ii. 289, ff.

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In the Śankhayana-Brahmana, however, special regard is had to the Paingya and Kaushitaka, whose views are very frequently quoted side by side, that of the Kaushitaka being always recognised as final. The question now arises what we are to understand by these expressions, whether works of the Brahmana order already extant in a written form, or still handed down orally onlyor merely the inherited tradition of individual doctrines. Mention of the Kaushitaka and the Paingya occurs in the Aitareva-Bráhmana only in a single passage—and that perhaps an interpolated one—in the latter part of the work. This at all events proves, what already seemed probable from its more methodical arrangement, that the Sankhavana-Brahmana is to be considered a later production than the Aitareva-Brahmana, since it appears to be a recast of two sets of views of similar tenor already extant under distinct names, while the Aitareya-Bráhmana presents itself as a more independent effort. Paingya belongs to one of the sages mentioned in the Brahmana of the White Yajus and elsewhere, from whose family Yaska Paingi* was descended, and probably also Pingala, the author of a treatise on metre. Kalpah is expressly included by the commentator of Pánini, probably following the Mahábháshya, among the ancient Kalpa-Sútras, in contradistinction to the Asmarathah Kalnah, with which we shall presently become acquainted as an authority of the Aśvaláyana-Sútra. The Paingins are, besides, frequently mentioned in early writings, and a Paingi-Bráhmana must still have been in existence even in Sayana's time, for he repeatedly refers The case stands similarly as regards the name Kaushitaka, which, is, moreover, used directly in the majority of passages where it is quoted for the Sankhavana-Bráhmana itself—a fact easy of explanation, as in the latter the view represented by the Kaushitaka is invariably upheld as the authoritative one, and we have in this Bráhmana but a remoulding by Śánkháyana of the stock of dogma peculiarly the property of the Kaushitakins. Further, in its commentary, which, it may be remarked,

^{*} The quotations from Bráhmanas Paiñgí Kalpah in the Mahábháshya, in Yáska, therefore, belong in part see I. St., xiii. 455.] perhaps to the Paiñgya (?). [On the

interprets the work under the sole title of the "Kaushitaki-Bráhmana," passages are frequently quoted from a Mahá-Kaushitaki-Bráhmana, so that we have to infer the existence of a still larger work of similar contents,—probably a later handling of the same subject (?) This commentary further connects the Kaushitaki-Bráhmana with the school of the Kauthumas—a school which otherwise belongs only to the Sámaveda: this, however, is a relation which has not as yet been cleared up.—The name Sánkháyana-Bráhmana interchanges occasionally with the form Sánkhyáyana-Bráhmana, but the former would seem to deserve the preference; its earliest occurrence is probably in the Prátišíkhya-Sátra of the Black Yagus

The great number of myths and legends contained in both these Brahmanas of the Rik invests them with a peculiar interest. These are not indeed introduced for their own sake, but merely with a view to explain the origin of some hymn: but this, of course, does not detract from their value One of them, the legend of Sunahsepa, which is found in the second part of the Astareva-Bráhmana, is translated by Roth in the Indische Studien, i. 458-464. and discussed in detail, ibid., ii. 112-123. According to him, it follows a more ancient metrical version. We must indeed assume generally, with regard to many of these legends, that they had already gamed a rounded, independent shape in tradition before they were incorporated into the Brahmana, and of this we have frequent evidence in the distinctly archaic character of their language, compared with that of the rest of the text. Now these legends possess great value for us from two points of view: first, because they contain, to some extent at least, directly or indirectly, historical data, often stated in a plain and artless manner, but at other times disguised and only perceptible to the eye of criticism; and, secondly, because they present connecting links with the legends of later times, the origin of which would otherwise have remained almost entirely obscure

On the Aitareya-Brahmana we have a commentary by Sayana, and on the Kaushitaki-Brahmana one by Vina-

yaka, a son of Madhava.33

³³ The Aitareya-Brahmana has by Martin Haug, 2 vols, Bombay, been edited, text with translation, 1863, see I St., 1x, 177-380 (1865).

To each of these Bráhmanas is also annexed an Áranyaka, or 'forest-portion,' that is, the portion to be studied in the forest by the sages known to us through Megasthenes as ὑλόβιοι, and also by their disciples. forest-life is evidently only a later stage of development in Brahmanical contemplation, and it is to it that we must chiefly ascribe the depth of speculation, the complete absorption in mystic devotion by which the Hindús are so eminently distinguished. Accordingly, the writings directly designated as Aranyakas bear this character impressed upon them in a very marked degree; they consist in great part of Upanishads only, in which, generally speaking, a bold and vigorous faculty of thought cannot fail to be recognised, however much of the bizarre they may at the same time contain.

The Aitareya-Aranyaka 335 consists of five books, each of which again is called Aranyaka. The second and third books* form a separate Upanishad; and a still further subdivision here takes place, inasmuch as the four last sections of the second book, which are particularly consonant with the doctrines of the Vedánta system, pass κατ' έξοχὴν as the Aitarcyopanishad. 34 Of these two books Mahidasa Aitareya is the reputed author; he is supposed to be the son of Visála and Itará, and from the latter his name Aitareya is derived. This name is indeed several times quoted in the course of the work itself as a final authority, a circumstance which conclusively proves the correctness of tracing to him the views therein propounded. For we must divest ourselves of the notion that a teacher of this period ever put his ideas into writing; oral delivery was his only method of imparting them to his pupils; the knowledge of them was transmitted by tradition, until it became fixed in

The legend of Sunahsepa (vii. 13-(8), had been discussed by Roth; see lso M. Müller, Hist. of A. S. L., p. 73, ff. Another section of it (viii. ons, had previously been edited by chönborn (Berlin, 1862). 33b The first fasciculus of an edin, together with Sayana's comntary, of the Altareya-Aranyaka, Rajendra Lala Mitra, has just

come to hand (Nov. 30, 1875), see Bibliotheca Indica, New Series, No. 325; the text reaches as far as i.

^{4.} I. * See I. St., i. 388, ff.

³⁴ This Aitarey opanishad, amongst others, has been edited (with Samkara's commentary) and translated by Roer, Bibl. Ind., vii. 143, ff. (Calc. 1850), xv. 28, ff. (1853).

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The contents of the Aitareya-Aranyaka, as we now have it, 25 supply no direct clue to the time of its composi-

the high importance of those familiar with them Among the names upentioned in the course of the work, Agnive'sy'a an is of significance on account of its formation. The incresting passages on the three pathas of the Veda, nirbhiya = san-hidjadiha, pratrinna = padlagdiha, and ubhayamantarena = kramogaliha, are discussed by M. Muller on Rik-Prát, 1. 2-4 (see also ibid., Nachtrage, p 11).

I find an Áivaláyana-Bráhmana aloutod, but am unable to give any particulars regarding it. [In a MS of the Ait Ar., India Office Lubrary, 986, the entire work is described at the end as Áfvaláyanoktam Áranyakam.]

²⁵ See I. St., 1. 387-392. I am now in possession of the complete text, but have nothing material to add to the above remarks. Great stress is laid upon keeping the particular doctrines secret, and upon

To each of these Bráhmanas is also annexed an Áranyaka, or 'forest-portion,' that is, the portion to be studied in the forest by the sages known to us through Megasthenes as ὑλόβιοι, and also by their disciples. This forest-life is evidently only a later stage of development in Brahmanical contemplation, and it is to it that we must chiefly ascribe the depth of speculation, the complete absorption in mystic devotion by which the Hindús are so eminently distinguished. Accordingly, the writings directly designated as Áranyakas bear this character impressed upon them in a very marked degree; they consist in great part of Upanishads only, in which, generally speaking, a bold and vigorous faculty of thought cannot fail to be recognised, however much of the bizarre they may at the same time contain.

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The legend of Sunahsepa (vii. 13–18), had been discussed by Roth; see also M. Müller, *Hist. of A. S. L.*, p. 573, ff. Another section of it (viii. 5–20), treating of royal inaugurations, had previously been edited by Schönborn (Berlin, 1862).

³³b The first fasciculus of an edition, together with Sayana's commentary, of the Aitareya-Aranyaka, by Rajendra Lala Mitra, has just

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tion, other than the one already noticed, namely, that in the second chapter of the second book the extant arrangement of the Rik-Samhitá is given. Again, the number of teachers individually mentioned is very great, particularly in the third book—among them are two Śakalyas, a Krishna Háríta, a Pañchálachanda—and this may be considered as an additional proof of its more recent origin, a conclusion already implied by the spirit and form of the opinions enunciated.³⁶

The Kaushítakáranyaka, in its present form, consists of three books; but it is uncertain whether it is complete.37. It was only recently that I lighted upon the two first books.* These deal rather with ritual than with specula-The third book is the so-called Kaushitaky-Upanishad, † a work of the highest interest and importance. first adhyáya gives us an extremely important account of the ideas held with regard to the path to, and arrival in. the world of the blessed, the significance of which in relation to similar ideas of other races is not yet quite apparent, but it promises to prove very rich in information. The second adhyaya gives us in the ceremonies which it describes, amongst other things, a very pleasing picture of the warmth and tenderness of family ties at that period. The third adhyáya is of inestimable value in connection with the history and development of the epic myth, inasmuch as it represents Indra battling with the same powers of nature that Arjuna in the epic subdues as evil demons. Lastly, the fourth adhyáya contains the second recension of a legend which also appears, under a somewhat different

sised may be used to support the very opposite view; indeed I have so represented it in the similar case of the Latyayana-Sutra (see below). This latter view now appears to me to have more in its favour.

(like Satap. Br. 14. 9. 2).

* See Catalogue of the Berlin
Skr. MSS., p. 19, n. 82.

³⁷ A manuscript sent to Berlin by Bühler (MS. Or. fol. 630) of the 'Saūkháyana-Áranyaka' (as it is there called) presents it in 15 adkydyas; the first two correspond to Ait. Ar. i., v.; adky. 3-6 are made up of the Kaush. Up.; adky. 7, 8 correspond to Ait. Ar. iii.; adky.

g gives the rivalry of the senses

[†] See I. St., i. 392-420. It would be very desirable to know on what Poley's assertion is founded, "that the Kaushitaki-Bráhmana consists of nine adhyáyas, the first, seventh, eighth, and ninth of which form the Kaushitaki-Bráhmana-Upanishad." I have not succeeded in finding any statement to this effect elsewhere. [See now Cowell's Preface, p. vii., to his edition of the Kaush. Up. in the Bibl. Ind.]

form, in the Aranyaka of the White Yajus, the legend, namely, of the instruction of a Brahman, who is very wise in his own esteem, by a warrior called Ajátasatru, king of Káši. This Upanishad is also peculiarly rich in geographical data, throwing light upon its origin. Thus the name of Chitra Gángyáyani, the wise king in the first According to ii. 10, the northern and southern mountains, ie, Himavant and Vindhya, enclose in the eyes of the author the whole of the known world, and the list of the neighbouring tribes in iv. I perfectly accords with this. That, moreover, this Upanishad is exactly contemporaneous with the Vrihad-Aranyaka of the White Yajus is proved by the position of the names Aruni, Svetaketu, Ajátasatru, Gárgya Báláki, and by the identity of the legends about the latter. [See I. St., i. 392-420]

We have an interpretation of both Aranyakas, that is to say, of the second and third books of the Aitareya-Aranyaka, and of the third book of the Kaushitaki-Aranyaka in the commentary of Samkaráchárya, a teacher who lived about the eighth century AD, 38 and who was of the highest importance for the Vedánta school. only did he interpret all the Vedic texts, that is, all the Upanishads, upon which that school is founded, he also commented on the Vedanta-Sútra itself, besides composing a number of smaller works with a view to elucidate and establish the Vedánta doctrine. His explanations, it is true, are often forced, from the fact of their having to accommodate themselves to the Vedanta system; still they are of high importance for us. Pupils of his, Anandajnána, Anandagiri, Anandatírtha, and others, in their turn composed glosses on his commentaries. Of most of these commentaries and glosses we are now in possession. as they have been recently edited, together with their Upanishads, by Dr. Roer, Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in the Bibliotheca Indica, a periodical appearing under the auspices of that Society, and devoted exclusively

Samkara's date has not, unfortunately, been more accurately de-termined as yet. He passes at the same time for a zealous adversary of the Buddhists, and is therefore

called a Saiva, or follower of Siva. In his works, however, he appears as a worshipper of Vasudeva, whom he puts forward as the real incarnation or representative of brahman.

to the publication of texts. Unfortunately the Kaushitaki-Upanishad is not yet among the number, neither is the Maitrayany-Upanishad, of which we have to speak in the sequel. It is, however, to be hoped that we shall yet receive both.39—And may yet a third, the Váshkala-Upanishad, be recovered and added to the list of these Upanishads of the Rik! It is at present only known to us through Anquetil Duperron's Oupnekhat, ii. 366-371; the original must therefore have been extant at the time of the Persian translation (rendered into Latin by Anguetil) of the principal Upanishads (1656). The Váshkala-Śruti is repeatedly mentioned by Śáyana. We have seen above that a particular recension of the Rik-Samhitá, which has likewise been lost, is attributed to the Váshkalas. This Upanishad is therefore the one sorry relic left to us of an extensive cycle of literature. upon a legend repeatedly mentioned in the Bráhmanas, which in substance, and one might almost say in name also, corresponds to the Greek legend of Gany-Medes. Medhátithi, the son of Kanva, is carried up to heaven by Indra, who has assumed the form of a ram, and during their flight he inquires of Indra who he is. Indra, in reply, smilingly declares himself to be the All-god, identifying himself with the universe. As to the cause of the abduction, he goes on to say that, delighted with Medhátithi's penance, he desired to conduct him into the right path leading to truth; he must therefore have no further misgiving. With regard to the date of this Upanishad, nothing more definite can of course at present be said than that its general tenor points to a tolerably high antiquity.40

We now descend to the last stage in the literature of the Riggeda, viz. to its Sútras.

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First, of the Śrauta-Sútras, or text-books of the sacrificial rite. Of these we possess two, the Sútra of Ásvalá-yana in 12 adhyáyas, and that of Śánkháyana in 18

Maitri-Up, with that of Ramatirtha (1863-69).

³⁹ Both have now been published and translated by Cowell in the Bibliotheca Indica. The Kaush.-Up. (Calc. 1861) is accompanied with the comm. of Sankarananda, the

⁴⁰ See now my special paper on the subject in *I. St.*, ix. 38-42; the original text has not yet been met with.

adhyayas. The former connects itself with the Aitareva-Bráhmana, the latter with the Śaukhayana-Bráhmana and rom these two works frequent literal quotations are respectively borrowed. From this circumstance alone, as vell as from the general handling of the subject, we might nfer that these Sútras are of comparatively recent origin: and direct testimony is not wanting to establish the fact. Thus the name Asvalayana is probably to be traced back o Asvala, whom we find mentioned in the Aranvaka of he White Yajus as the Hotar of Janaka, king of Videha see I. St., i 441). Again, the formation of the word by he affix ayana,* probably leads us to the time of estabished schools (ayana)? However this may be, names formed in this way occur but seldom in the Brahmanas themselves, and only in their latest portions, in general, therefore, they always betoken a late period. We find corroboration of this in the data supplied by the contents of the Asvalayana-Sutra. Among the teachers there quoted is an'Asmarathya, whose kalpa (doctrine) is considered by the scholiast on Panini, iv. 3. 105, probably following the Mahábháshya,41 as belonging to the new kalpas implied in this rule, in contradistinction to the old kalpas. If, then, the authorities quoted by Asvalayana were regarded as recent, Asvaláyana himself must of course have been still more modern; and therefore we conclude, assuming this statement to originate from the Mahabhashya.41 that Asyalayana was nearly contemporaneous with Panini. Another teacher quoted by Asvalayana, Taulvali, is expressly mentioned by Pánini (ii. 4. 61) as belonging to the pranchas, or "dwellers in the east."—At the end there is a specially interesting enumeration of the various Bráhmana-families, and their distribution among the family stems of Bhrigu, Angiras, Atri, Viśvámitra, Kasyapa, Vasishtha, and Agastya.—The sacrifices on the Sarasvati, of which I shall treat in the sequel, are here only briefly touched upon, and this with some differences in the

Mahabhashya, see I. St., xin. 455

^{*} As in the case of Agnivesya-

káyana (f), Lámakáyana, Vársbyáyani, Sákatáyana, Sánkháyana, Sátyáyana, Sándlyáyana, Sálamkáyana, Saityáyana, Saulváyana, &c.

41 The name is not known in the

names, which may well be considered as later corruptions. We have also already seen that Aśvaláyana is the author of the fourth book of the Aitareya-Aranyaka, as also that he was the pupil of Śaunaka, who is stated to have destroyed his own Sútra in favour of his pupil's work.

The Sútra of Sánkháyana wears in general a somewhat more ancient aspect, particularly in the fifteenth and sixteenth books, where it assumes the appearance of a Bráhmana. The seventeenth and eighteenth books are a later addition, and are also ranked independently, and separately commented upon. They correspond to the first two

books of the Kaushitaki-Aranyaka.

From my but superficial acquaintance with them, I am. not at present in a position to give more detailed information as to the contents and mutual relation of these two Sútras.42 My conjecture would be that their differences may rest upon local grounds also, and that the Sútra of Aśvalayana, as well as the Aitareya-Brahmana, may belong to the eastern part of Hindustán; the Sútra of Sáñkháyana, on the contrary, like his Bráhmana, rather to the western.* The order of the ceremonial is pretty much the same in both, though the great sacrifices of the kings, &c., viz., vájapcya (sacrifice for the prospering of the means of subsistence), rájasúya (consecration of the king), aśvamedha (horse sacrifice), purushamedha (human sacrifice), sarramedha (universal sacrifice), are handled by Sánkhávana with far more minuteness.

For Ásvaláyana I find mention made of a commentary by Náráyana,⁴³ the son of Krishnajit, a grandson of Śrípati. A namesake of his, but son of Pasupatisarman,

⁴² The Ásvaláyana-Sútra has since been printed, Bibl. Ind. (Calc. 1864–74), accompanied with the comm. of Náráyana Gárgya, edited by Ráma-Náráyana and Ánandachandra. A special comparison of it with the Sáñkháyana-Sútra is still wanting. Bühler, Catalogue of MSS. from Gujarát, i. 154 (1871), cites a commentary by Devatráta on the Ásv. Śr. S., likewise a partial one by Vidyáranya.

^{*} Perhaps to the Naimisha forest (?). See below, p. 59.

⁴³ This is a confusion. The abovenamed Náráyana wrote a commentary upon the Śaūkháyana-Grihya; but the one who commented the Ásvaláyana-Śrauta-Sútra calls himself in the introduction a son of Narasinha, just as Náráyana, the commentator of the Uttara-Naishadhíya, does, who, according to tradition (Roer, Pref., p. viii., 1855), lived some five hundred years ago. Are these two to be regarded as one and the same person? See I. Str., 2, 298 (1869).

composed a paddhati ('outlines') to Śánkháyana, after the example of one Brahmadatta. 'When he lived is uncertain, but we may with some probability assign him to the sixteenth century. According to his own statements he was a native of Malayadeśa. Further, for the Sútra of Śinkháyana we have the commentary of Varadattasuta Anartíya. Three of its adhyáyas were lost, and have been supplied by Dásaśarman Muñjasúnu, viz, the ninth, tenth, and eleventh "On the last two adhyáyas, xvii, xviii, there is a commentary by Govinda. That these commentaries were preceded by others, which, however, have since been lost, is obvious, and is besides expressly stated by Anartíya.

Of the Grihya-Sútras of the Rigveda we likewise only possess two, those of Ásvaláyana (in four adhydyas) and of Sánkháyana (in six adhydyas). That of Saunaka is indeed reneatedly mentioned, but it does not seem to be

any longer in existence.

However widely they may differ as to details, the contents of the two works are essentially identical, especially as regards the order and distribution of the matter. They treat mainly, as I have already stated (p. 17), of the ceremonies to be performed in the various stages of conjugal and family life, before and after a birth, at marriage. at the time of and after a death. Besides these, however, manners and customs of the most diverse character are depicted, and "in particular, the sayings and formulas to be uttered on different occasions bear the impress of a very high antiquity, and frequently carry us back into the time when Brahmanism had not yet been developed" (see Stenzler in I. St., ii. 159). It is principally popular and superstitious notions that are found in them; thus, we are pointed to star-worship, to astrology, portents, and witchcraft, and more especially to the adoration and propitiation of the evil powers in nature, the averting of their malign influence, &c. It is especially in the pitritarpana, or oblation to the Manes, that we find a decisive proof of

⁴⁴ Sections 3-5 of the fourth book have been published by Donner in his Pindapitiyajna (Berlin, 1870), and the section relating to the legend of Sunshippa (xv. 17-27) by

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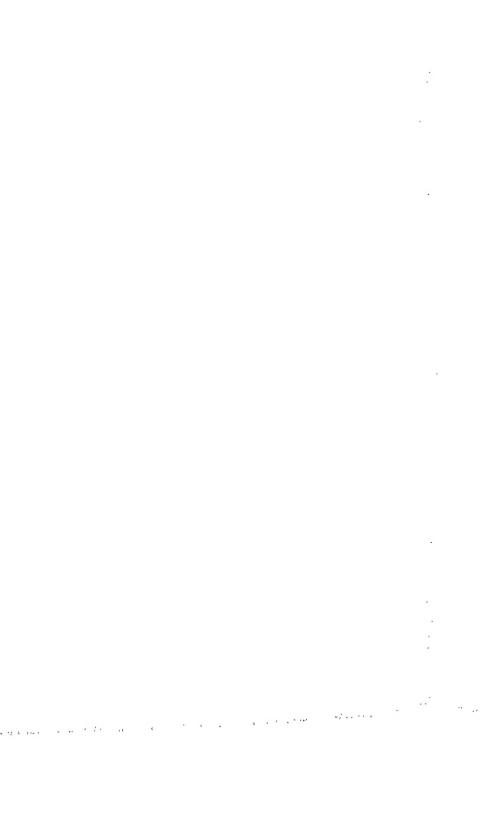
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the modern composition of these works, as the forefathers are there enumerated individually by name-a custom which, although in itself it may be very ancient (as we find a perfect analogy to it in the Yeshts and Nerengs of the Parsís), yet in this particular application belongs to a very recent period, as is apparent from the names themselves. For not only are the Rishis of the Rik-Samhita cited in their extant order, but all those names are likewise mentioned which we encounter as particularly significant in the formation of the different schools of the Rik. as well as in connection with its Bráhmanas and Sútras; for example, Váshkala, Sákalya, Mándúkeya, Ajtareya, Paingya, Kaushitaka, Saunaka, Aśvaláyana, and Śankháyana themselves, &c. Joined to these, we find other names with which we are not yet otherwise acquainted; as also the names of three female sages, one of whom, Gárgí Váchaknaví, meets us repeatedly in the Vrihad-Aranyaka of the White Yajus, as residing at the court of Janaka. The second 45 is unknown; but the name of the third, Sulabhá Maitreyí, is both connected with this very Janaka in the legends of the Mahá-Bhárata,* and also points us to the Saulabháni Bráhmanáni, quoted by the scholiast on Pánini, iv. 3. 105, probably on the authority of the Mahábháshya,46 as an instance of the 'modern' Bráhmanas implied by this rule. Immediately after the Rishis of the Rik-Samhitá, we find mention of other names and works which have not yet been met with in any other part of Vedic literature. In the Śankhayana-Grihya we have these: Sumantu-Jaimini-Vaisampayana-Paila-sútrabháshya [-Gárgya-Babhru] . . .; and in the Ásvaláyana-Grihya these: Sumantu-Jaimini-Vaisampayana-Pailasútra-bhárata-mahábhárata-dharmáchárváh. The latter

⁴⁵ Her name is Vadavá Prátitheyí; a teacher called Pratithi is mentioned in the Vansa-Bráhmana of the Sámaveda.

46 See on this I. St., xiii: 429.

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^{* [}Cf. Samkara's statements as to this in Ved. Sútrabh. to iii. 3. 32, p. 915, ed. Ráma Náráyana.] Buddha's uncle is called by the Buddhists Sulabha; see Schiefner, Leben des Sákyamuni, p. 6.

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passage is evidently the more modern, and although we must not suppose that the Mahá-Bhárata in its present form is here referred to still in the expression "Vaisampáyano mahábháratácháryah," apparently indicated by this passage, there must at all events be implied a work of some compass, treating of the same legend, and therefore forming the basis of our extant text The passage seems also to indicate that the same material had already been handled a second time by Jaimini, whose work however, can have borne but a distant resemblance to the Jaimini-Bhárata of the present day We shall find in the sequel frequent confirmation of the fact that the origin of the epic and the systematic development of Vedic literature in its different schools belong to the same period. Of a Sútra by Sumantu, and a Dharma by Paila, we have no knowledge whatever. It is only in more modern times, in the Puranas and in the legal literature proper, that I find a work attributed to Sumantu, namely, a Smriti-Sástra; while to Paila (whose name appears from Pán. iv. 1. 118) is ascribed the revelation of the Rigveda-a circumstance which at least justifies the inference that he played a special part in the definitive completion of its school development.—It is, however, possible to give a wholly different interpretation of the passage from Asvalayana; and in my opinion it would be preferable to do so. We may divest the four proper names of any special relation to the names of the four works, and regard the two groups as independent,48 as we must evidently assume them to be in the Sankhayana-Grihya.* If this be done, then what most readily suggests itself in connection with the passage is the manner in which the Puranas apportion

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the revelation of the several Vedas; inasmuch as they assign the Atharvaveda to Sumantu, the Samaveda to Jaimini, the Yajurveda to Vaisampayana, and the Rigveda to Paila. But in either case we must assume with Roth, who first pointed out the passage in Ásvaláyana (op. c., p. 27), that this passage, as well as the one in Sankhayana. has been touched up by later interpolation; 49 otherwise the dates of these two Grihya-Sútras would be brought down too far! For although, from the whole tenor of both passages, that in the Aśvaláyana-Grihya, as well as that in the Sankhayana-Grihya—which for the rest present other material discrepancies of detail—it is sufficiently clear that they presuppose the literature of the Rigyeda as entirely closed, still the general attitude of both works shows their comparatively ancient origin.—The question whether any connection exists between the Smriti-Sistra of Śankha and the Grihya-Sútra of Śankhayana, remains still unanswered.

For both Grihya-Sútras there are commentaries by the same Náráyana who commented the Śrauta-Sútra of Áśva-láyana. They probably belong to the fifteenth century.* There are, besides, as in the case of the Śrauta-Sútras,

431.

50 This is a mistake, see note 43; all three Narayanas must be kept distinct. The commentator of the Asval. Sr. S. calls himself a Gargya, and son of Narasinha; the comm. of the Asval. Grihya, a Naidhruya, and son of Diyakara; the

comm. of the Sankh. Grihya, son of Krishnajit, and grandson of Sripati. (This third Nar. lived A.D. 1538; see Catalogue of the Berlin MSS., p. 354; sub No. 1282.)—The text of the Asval. Grihya has been edited by Stenzler, with a translation (Indische Hausregeln, 1864-65); the text, with Narayana's comm., by Ramanarayana and Anandachandra, in Bibl. Ind. (1866-69). The sectious relating to marriage ceremonies have been edited by Haas, I. St., v. 283, ff.; those relating to funeral rites, by Müller, Z. D. M. G. ix.

Two glosses on Sankara's commentary on the Prasnopanishad and the Mundakopanishad bear the same name, so that possibly the author of them is identical with the abovenamed Náráyana. Acc. to what has just been remarked in note 50, this must appear a perfori very doubtful, since a considerable number of other

⁴⁹ We find the Sumantu-Jaimini-Vaišampáyana - Pailádyá ácháryáh quoted a second time in the Sankh. G., in its last section (vi. 6), which is probably of later origin; and here, without any doubt, the reference is to the same distribution of the four Vedas among the above-named personages which occurs in the Vishnu-Purana, iii. 4. 8, 9. Both times the representative of the Atharvan comes first, that of the Rik last. which in a Rik text serves as a clear proof that we have here to do with later appendages. A similar precedence is given to the Atharraveda in the Mahabhashya; cf. I. St., xiii.

many small treatises in connection with the Grihya-Sútras, some of them being summaries, in which the larger works are reduced to system. Among them is a Paddhati to the Śánkháyana-Grihya by Rámachandra, who lived in the Naimisha forest in the middle of the fifteenth century: and I am inclined to think that this Naimisha forest was the birthplace of the Sútra itself. It is perhaps for this reason that the tradition connected with it was so well preserved in that district.

The extant Prátišákhva-Sútra of the Rik-Samhitá is ascribed to Saunaka, who has been repeatedly mentioned already, and who was the teacher of Asvalayana extensive work is a metrical composition, divided into three kandas, of six natalas each, and containing 103 kandikás in all. The first information regarding it was given by Roth, op. c., p. 53, ff. According to tradition, it is of more ancient origin than the Sútras of Asvaláyana just mentioned, which only purport to be written by the pupil of this Saunaka; but whether it really was composed by the latter, or whether it is not much more probably merely the work of his school, must for the present remain undecided. The names quoted in it are in part identical with those met with in Yaska's Nirukti and in the Sútra of Panini. The contents of the work itself are, however, as yet but little known 51 in their details. Of special interest are those passages which treat of the correct and incorrect pronunciation of words in general. There is an excellent commentary on it by Uata, which professes in the introduction to be a remodelling of an earlier commentary by Vishnuputra.—The Upalekha is to be con-

authors bear the same name. But in this particular case we are able to bring forward definite reasons against this identification. The he is probably identical with the author of the dipidd on the small Atharvopanishads published in the Bibl. Ind. in 1872, who (ibid., p. 393) is called Bhatta Narayana, and son of Bhatta Ratnakara]

at We are now in possession of two editions of this most important work, text and translation, with elucidatory notes, by Ad Regmer (Paris, 1857-58), and M. Muller (Leipzig, 1856-69); see I Str. 11. 94, ft, 127, ft, 159, ft; Lit Centralblati, 1870, p. 330.

rather Rdyanendrasarastati (!). The glossarist of the Mundakop, on the other hand, was, according to I. St, 1. 470, called Nardyanabhatia; and

sidered as an epitome of the Pratisakhya-Sutra, and to some extent as a supplement to it [specially to chapters x. xi]. It is a short treatise, numbered among the Parisishtas (supplements); and it has in its turn been

repeatedly commented upon.52

A few other treatises have still to be noticed here, which although they bear the high-sounding name of Vedángas. or 'members of the Veda,' are yet, as above stated (p. 25). only to be looked upon as later supplements to the literature of the Rigveda: the Silishá, the Chhandas, and the Juotisha. All three exist in a double recension according as they profess to belong to the Rigveda or to the Yaiurveda. The Chhandas is essentially alike in both recensions, and we have to recognise in it the Sútra on prosody ascribed to Pingala.53 It is, moreover, like both the other treatises, of very recent origin. We have a proof of this, for instance, in the fact that, in the manner peculiar to the Indians, it expresses numbers by words, 51 and feet by letters, and that it treats of the highly elaborated metres, which are only found in modern poetry.55 The part dealing with Vedic metres may perhaps be more ancient. The teachers quoted in it bear in part comparatively ancient

51 Edited and commented by myself in I. St., viii. (1863); the text, together with the commentary of Huldyndha, edited by Vidvanithasistrin in Bill. Indica (1871-74).

See Alidran's account in Woopcke's Mémoire sur la proposition des chieres indiens, p. 102, ft. (1863). Burnell, Elem. of S. I. Palayse.

P. 58.

33 On the other hand, there are metres taught in this work which but rarely occur in modern literature, and which must be looked upon as obsolete and out of fashion. Therefore, in spite of what has been said above, we must carry back the date of its composition to a period about simultaneous with the close of the Vedic Sútra literature, or the commencement of the astronomical an lalgebraical literatures; see L.M., voic 173, 178.

Edited by W. Perisch (Berlin, 1854); this tract treats of the kramaratha, an extended form of the radapatha, which at the same time gives the text in the sambita form, namely, each word twice, first joine l with the preciding, and then with the following word (thus : ab, br. cd. de . . .). There are also other still more complicated modes of reciting the Velacas to which cf. Thibant in his edition of the Jutiputala (1870), p. 36, ff. The next step, called jatá, exhibits the text in the following manner: ab ba ab, be ebbe, and MSS, of this kind have actually been preserved, e.g., in the case of the Vajas. Samb. The following sten, cailed giana, is said to be still in use: ci. Bhandarkar, Indian Antiquary, iii. 133 : Hang, Urber dar Weem des vollischen Accepts, p 58 : it runs : ab ba abs cha abs, be ch be ted deb bed.

names. These are: Kraushtuki, Tandin, Yaska, Saitava, Ráta, and Mándavya. The recensions most at variance with each other are those of the Siksha and Jyotisha respectively. The former work is in both recensions directly traced to Panini, the latter to Lagadha, or Lagata, an otherwise unknown name in Indian literature.*—Besides the Páninívá Šikshá, there is another bearing the name of the Mandukas, which therefore may more directly follow the Rik, and which is at any rate a more important work than the former. As a proof of the antiquity of the name 'Siksha' for phonetic investigations, we may adduce the circumstance that in the Taitt Arany., vii. I, we find a section beginning thus: "we will explain the Sikshá;" whereupon it gives the titles of the topics of the oral exposition which we may suppose to have been connected therewith (I. St., ii. 211), and which, to judge by these titles, must have embraced letters, accents, quantity, articulation, and the rules of euphony, that is to say, the same subjects discussed in the two existing Sikshas.56

of the writings called Anukramani, in which the metre, the deity, and the author of each song are given in their proper order, several have come down to us for the Rik-Samhiti, including an Anuadkanukramani by Samaka, and a Sarvánukramani by Kátyáyana. For both of these we have an excellent commentary by Shadgura-

⁵⁶ The Páninijá Šikshá has been printed with a translation in I. St., iv 345-371 (1558); on the numerous other treatises bearing the same name, see Rájendra Löla Mitra, Notices of Sankrit MSS., i. 71, ff.

^{*} Remand in his Mémoire sur l'Inde, pp. 331, 332, adduces from Albiráni a Láta, who passed for the author of the old Surva-Siddbanta . might he not be identical with this Lugadha, Lagata? According to Colebr., Ess., 11. 409, Brahmagupta quotes a Ládbáchárya; this name also could be traced to Lacadha [By Súryadeva, a scholiast of Arya-bhata, the author of the Jyotisha is cited under the name of Lagadicharya; see Kern, Preface to the Aryabhatiya, p. 1x , 1874. An edi-tion of the text of the Jyotisha, together with extracts from Somikara's commentary and explanatory notes, was published by me in 1862 under the title : Ueber den Vedakalender. Namens Jyotisham 1

xiv. 160.

The substance published by Muller in the sixth volume of his large edition of the Rik, pp. 621-671.

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I now turn to the Samareda.*

The Samhita of the Samaveda is an anthology taken from the Rik-Samhitá, comprising those of its verses which were intended to be chanted at the ceremonies of the Soma sacrifice. Its arrangement would seem to be guided by the order of the Rik-Samhıta; but here, as in the case of the two Samhitas of the Yajus, we must not think to find any continuous connection Properly speaking, each verse is to be considered as standing by itself; it only receives its real sense when taken in connection with the particular ceremony to which it belongs, the case at least in the first part of the Sama-Samhita. This is divided into six prapáthakas, each of which t consists of ten dasats or decades, of ten verses each, a division which existed as early as the time of the second part of the Satapatha-Bráhmana, and within which the separate verses are distributed according to the deities to whom they are addressed. The first twelve decades contain invocations of Agni, the last eleven invocations of Soma, while the thirty-six intermediate ones are for the most part addressed to Indra. The second part of the Sama-Samhitá, on the contrary, which is divided into nine prapáthakas, each of which again is subdivided into two or occasionally three sections, invariably presents several, usually three, verses closely connected with one another. and forming an independent group, the first of them having generally appeared already in the first part. The principle of distribution here is as yet obscure.59 In the Samhitá these verses are still exhibited in their rich-form, although with the saman-accents; but in addition to this we have four ganas, or song-books, in which they appear in their saman-form. For, in singing they were consider-

^{*} See I. St., i. 28-66. † Except the last, which contains only nine decades. 55 The first part of the Samhitá is

referred to under the names drchila, chhandas, chhandasikd, the second as uttarárchila or uttará; the designation of the latter as staubhila (see I. St., i 29, 30, 66), into the

use of which my example has misled Muller also, History of A. S. L., p. 473, n., is wrong, see Monatoberichte der Berl. Acad , 1868,

Monatsterichte der Berl. Acad, 1868, p. 238 According to Durgs, the author of the padapdtha of the Sama-Samhitá was a Gárgya; see Roth, Comm, p. 39 (respecting this family, see I. Et., xiii. 411).



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taken place: so that in the interval they suffered a good deal of wearing down in the mouth of the people, which was avoided in the case of the richas applied as samans, and so protected by being used in worship. The fact has also already been stated that no verses have been received into the Sama-Samhitá from those songs of the Rik-Samhitá which must be considered as the most modern. Thus we find no samans borrowed from the Purusha-Súkta, in the ordinary recensions at least, for the school of the Naigevas has, in fact, incorporated the first five verses of it into the seventh prapáthaka of the first part—a section which is peculiar to this school. The Sama-Samhita, being a purely derivative production, gives us no clue towards the determination of its date. It has come down to us in two recensions, on the whole differing but little from each other, one of which belongs to the school of the Ranayaniyas, the other to that of the Kauthumas Of this latter the school of the Negas, or Naigeyas, alluded to above, is a subdivision, of which two Anukramanis at least, one of the deities and one of the Rishis of the several verses. have been preserved to us.60 Not one of these three names has as yet been traced in Vedic literature: it is only in the Sútras of the Samaveda itself that the first and second at least are mentioned, but even here the name of the Negas does not appear. The text of the Ránáyanívas was edited and translated, with strict reference to Sayana's commentary, by the missionary Stevenson in 1842; since 1848 we have been in possession of another edition, furnished with a complete glossary and much

specially refers to the Aranyaka-Saminta, see Burnell, Catalogue of Veduc MSS, (1870), p. 39—0f the Aranyaka-gafaa as well as of the Grámagya-gána we find, jörd, p. 49, a text in the Jamma-Skithá also According to Rájendra Lda Mitra (Preface to Translation of Chibánd Up., p. 4), 'the Kauthuma (-Sikhá) is current in Guzerat, the Jaimniya in Kamditaka, and the Rápáyaniya m Maldrishira.'

⁶⁹ The seventh prapthlake, which is pecular to it, has since been discovered. It bears the title Aransaka-Samhiki, and has been edited by Slegfried Goldschmidt in Monatherichted Pol. Acad. 1858, pp. 228-248. The editor points out that Aranya-Gana is based upon the archive of the National State of the Sharisawannia Stamweldaviarana

additional material, together with translation, which we owe to Professor Benfey, of Göttingen. 61

Although, from its very nature, the Samhitá of the Sámaveda is poor in data throwing light upon the time of its origin, yet its remaining literature contains an abundance of these; and first of all, the Brahmanas.

The first and most important of these is the Tandya Brahmana, also called Pañchavinsa, from its containing twenty-five books. Its contents, it is true, are in the main of a very dry and unprofitable character; for in mystic trifling it often exceeds all bounds, as indeed it was the adherents of the Samaveda generally who carried matters furthest in this direction. Nevertheless, from its great extent, this work contains a mass of highly interesting legends, as well as of information generally. It refers solely to the celebration of the Soma sacrifices, and to the chanting of the samans accompanying it, which are quoted by their technical names. These sacrifices were celebrated in a great variety of ways; there is one special classification of them according as they extended over one day or several, or finally over more than twelve days.62 latter, called sattras, or sessions, could only be performed by Brahmans, and that in considerable numbers, and might last 100 days, or even several years. In consequence of the great variety of ceremonies thus involved, each bears its own name, which is borrowed either from the object of its celebration, or the sage who was the first to celebrate it, or from other considerations. How far the order of the Samhitá is here observed has not yet been investigated,

is said to be still in existence in Malabar; see Rost, I. St., ix.

To each Soma sacrifice belong several (four at least) preparatory days; these are not here taken into account. The above division refers ouly to those days when Soma juice is expressed, that is, to the sutya days, Soma sacrifices having only one such day are called ekaha; those with from two to twelve, ahina. Sattras lasting a whole year, or even longer, are called ayana. For the sutya festival there are seven fundamental forms, called samsthá; I. St., x. 352-355.

⁶¹ Recently a new edition, likewise very meritorious, of the first two books, the agneyam and the aindram parva, of the archika (up to i. 5. 2. 3. 10), has been published by Satyavrata Samasramin, in the Bibliotheca Indica (1871-74), accompanied by the corresponding portions (mapathakas I-12) of the Geyagana, and the complete commentary of Sayana, and other illus. rative matter.—The division of the amans into parvans is first men-ioned by Paraskara, ii. 10 (adhyaidin prabrayad, rishimukhani bahichánám, parváni chhandogánám). Ravanabhashya on the Samaveda

but in any case it would be a mistake to suppose that for all the different sacrifices enumerated in the Bráhmana corresponding prayers exist in the Samhitá. On the contarry, the latter probably only exhibits the verses to be chanted generally at all the Soma sacrifices; and the Bráhmana must be regarded as the supplement in which the modifications for the separate sacrifices are given, and also for those which arose later. While, as we saw above (p. 14), a combination of verses of the Ruk for the purpose of recitation bears the name śastra, a similar selection of different sáman united into a whole is usually called uktha (\sqrt{xach}, to speak), stoma (\sqrt{stu}, to praise), or prishtha (\sqrt{yrach}, to ask); and these in their turn, like the śastras, receive different appellations.

Of special significance for the time of the composition of the Tandya Brahmana are, on the one hand, the very minute descriptions of the sacrifices on the Sarasvatí and Drishadvatí; and, on the other, the Vrátyastomas, or sacrifices by which Indians of Arvan origin, but not living according to the Brahmanical system, obtained admission to the Brahman community. The accounts of these latter sacrifices are preceded by a description of the dress and mode of life of those who are to offer them. "They drive in open chariots of war, carry bows and lances, wear turbans, robes bordered with red and having fluttering ends. shoes, and sheepskins folded double; their leaders are distinguished by brown robes and silver neck-ornaments; they pursue neither agriculture nor commerce; their laws are in a constant state of confusion; they speak the same language as those who have received Brahmanical consecration, but nevertheless call what is easily spoken hard to pronounce." This last statement probably refers to

44 The term directly opposed to starta 19, rather, atotra. Pytalfaka specially designates several atotas belonging to the mid-day secrifice, and forming, as it is expressed, its 'back;' wikha is originally employed as a synonym of starta, and only at a late period in the meaning of atomor. (It is not the first seven, or more ground-forms of the storta, after which these latter are formed for the purposes of chanting. The simple recitation of the tastras by the Hotar and his companions always comes after the chanting recitation of the same verses by the

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prákritic, dialectic disserences, to the assimilation of groups of consonants, and similar changes peculiar to the Prákrit vernaculars. The great sacrifice of the Naimishiva-Rishis is also mentioned, and the river Sudáman. Although we have to conclude from these statements that communication with the west, particularly with the non-Brahmanic Arvans there, was still very active, and that therefore the locality of the composition must be laid more towards the west,61 still data are not wanting which point us to the Thus, there is mention of Para Atnara, king of the Kosalas; of Trasadasvu Purukutsa, who is also named in the Rik-Samhita; further of Namin Sapya, king of the Videhas (the Nimi of the epic); of Kurukshetra, Yamuna, &c. The absence, however, of any allusion in the Tándya-Bráhmana either to the Kuru-Pañchálas or to the names of their princes, as well as of any mention of Janaka, is best accounted for by supposing a difference of locality. Another possible, though less likely, explanation of the fact would be to assume that this work was contemporary with, or even anterior to, the flourishing epoch of the kingdom of the Kuru-Panchalas. The other names quoted therein seem also to belong to an earlier age than those of the other Brahmanas, and to be associated, rather, with the Rishi period. It is, moreover, a very significant fact that scarcely any differences of opinion are stated to exist amongst the various teachers. It is only against the Kaushitakis that the field is taken with some acrimony; they are denoted as crátyas (apostates) and as yajnávakírna (unfit to sacrifice). Lastly, the name attached to this Bráhmana, viz., Tándya, is mentioned in the Bráhmana of the White Yajus as that of a teacher; so that, combining all this, we may at least safely infer its priority to the latter work.65

the other Sútras invariably quoting it by 'iti śruteh.'

⁶⁴ The fact that the name of Chitraratha (etena vai Chitraratham Kapeyá ayájayan . . . tasmách Chaitrarathúnám ekah kshatrapatir jáyate 'nulamba iva dvitíyah, xx. 12, 5) occurs in the gana 'Rájadanta' to Pán, ii. 2. 31, joined with the name Bánlíka in a compound (Chitraratha-Báhlíkam), is perhaps also to be taken in this connection.

^{*} The first use of this designation, it is true, only occurs in Latyayana,

⁶⁵ The Tandya-Brahmana has been edited, together with Sayana's commentary, in the Bibl. Ind. (1869-74), by Anandachandra Vedantavagisa. At the time of the Bhashika-Sutra (see Kielhorn, I. St., x. 421) it must. still have been accentuated, and that in the same manner as the Satapatha; in Kumarilabhaṭṭa's time, on the contrary (the last half of the

The Shadrinsa-Brahmana by its very name proclaims itself a supplement to the Panchavinsa-Brahmana. It forms, as it were, its twenty-sixth book, although itself consisting of several books. Sayana, when giving a summary of its contents at the commencement of his here excellent commentary, says that it both treats of such ceremonies as are not contained in the Panchavinsa-Brahmana, and also gives points of divergence from the latter, It is chiefly explatory sacrifices and ceremonies of imprecation that we find in it, as also short, comprehensive general rules. The fifth book (or sixth adhydya) has quite a peculiar character of its own, and is also found as a separate Bráhmana under the name of Adbhuta-Bráhmana: in the latter form, however, with some additions at the end. It enumerates untoward occurrences of daily life, omens and portents, along with the rites to be performed to avert their evil consequences. These afford us a deep insight into the condition of civilisation of the period, which, as might have been expected, exhibits a very advanced phase. The ceremonies first given are those to be observed on the occurrence of vexatious events generally; then come those for cases of sickness among men and cattle, of damaged crops, losses of precious things, &c.; those to be performed in the event of earthquakes, of phenomena in the air and in the heavens, &c., of marvellous appearances on altars and on the images of the gods, of electric phenomena and the like, and of miscarriages 65 This sort of superstition is elsewhere only treated of in the Grihva-Sútras, or in the Parisishtas (supplements); and this imparts to the last adhyaya of the Shadvinsa-Brahmana-as the remaining contents do to the work generally—the appearance of belonging to a very modern period. And, in accordance with this, we find mention here made of Uddálaka Aruni, and other teachers, whose names are altogether unknown to the Pañchavinsa-Brahmana.—A śloka is cited in the course of

^{66 .}The Adbhuta-Brahmana has been published by myself, text with translation, and explanatory notes, in Zuei redische Texte uber Omina und Portenta (1850).

^{348;} Burnell, Sámavidhána-Bráhmaņa, Preface, p. vi.

the work, in which the four yugas are still designated by their more ancient names, and are connected with the four lunar phases, to which they evidently owe their origin, although all recollection of the fact had in later times died out. This śloka itself we are perhaps justified in assigning to an earlier time than that of Megasthenes, who informs us of a fabulous division of the mundane ages analogous to that given in the epic. But it does not by any means follow that the Shadvinsa-Bráhmana, in which the śloka is quoted, itself dates earlier than the

time of Megasthenes.

The third Bráhmana of the Sámaveda bears the special title of Chhándogya-Bráhmana, although Chhándogya is the common name for all Saman theologians. We, however, also find it quoted, by Samkara, in his commentary on the Brahma-Sútra, as "Tándinám śruti," that is to say, under the same name that is given to the Panchavinsa-Bráhmana. The two first adhyáyas of this Bráhmana are still missing, and the last eight only are preserved, which also bear the special title of Chhandogyopanishad. This Bráhmana is particularly distinguished by its rich store of legends regarding the gradual development of Brahmanical theology, and stands on much the same level as the Vrihad-Aranyaka of the White Yajus with respect to opinions, as well as date, place, and the individuals men-The absence in the Vrihad-Aranyaka, as in the Bráhmana of the White Yajus generally, of any reference to the Naimisiya-Rishis, might lead us to argue the priority of the Chhandogyopanishad to the Vrihad-Aranyaka. Still, the mention in the Chhandogyopanishad of these, as well as of the Mahávrishas and the Gandháras-the latter. it is true, are set down as distant-ought perhaps only to be taken as proof of, a somewhat more western origin; whereas the Vrihad-Aranyaka belongs, as we shall hereafter see, to quite the eastern part of Hindustan. The numerous animal fables, on the contrary, and the mention of Mahidasa Aitareya, would sooner incline me to suppose that the Chhandogyopanishad is more modern than the Vrihad-Aranyaka. With regard to another allusion, in

⁶⁷ Differently Roth in his essay Die Lehre von den rier Weltshers (Tübingen, 1860).

itself of the greatest significance, it is more hazardous to venture a conjecture: I mean the mention of Krishna Devakiputra, who is instructed by Ghora Angirasa. The latter, and besides him (though not in connection with him) Krishna Angirasa, are also mentioned in the Kaushitaki-Brahmana; and supposing this Krishna Angirasa to be identical with Krishna Devakiputra, the allusion to him might perhaps rather be considered as a sign of priority to the Vrihad-Aranyaka. Still, assuming this identification to be correct, due weight must be given to the fact that the name has been altered here: instead of Angirasa, he is called Devakiputra, a form of name for which we find no analogy in any other Vedic writing excepting the Vansas (genealogical tables) of the Vrihad-Aranyaka, and which therefore belongs, at all events, to a tolerably late period.* The significance of this allusion for the understanding of the position of Krishna at a later period is obvious. Here he is yet but a scholar, eager in the pursuit of knowledge, belonging perhaps to the military caste. He certainly must have distinguished himself in some way or other, however little we know of it, otherwise his elevation to the rank of deity, brought about by external circumstances, would be inexplicable.68

The fact of the Chhandogyopanishad and the Vrihad-Aranyaka having in common the names Praváhana Jaivali, Ushasti Chákráyana, Śándılya, Satyakáma Jábála. Uddálaka Áruni, Svetaketu, and Asvapati, makes it clear that they were as nearly as possible contemporary works; and this appears also from the generally complete identity of the seventh book of the former with the corresponding passages of the Vrihad-Aranyaka. What, however, is of most significance, as tending to establish a late date for

^{*} Compare also Pán, iv. 1. 159, and the names Sambuputra, Randyaniputra, in the Sama-Satras; as also Katyayaniputra, Maitrayani-putra, Vatsiputra, &c., among the Buddhists. [On these metronymic names in putra see I. St., ni 157, 485, 486, 1v. 380, 435; v. 63, 64.]

vation of Krishna to the rank of derty was brought about is as yet obscure; though unquestionably

mythical relations to Indra, &c , are at the root of it, see I. St., xiii. 349, ff The whole question, however, is altogether vague. Krishnaworship proper, i.e., the sectarian worship of Krishna as the one God, probably attained its perfection through the influence of Christianity. See my paper, Krishna's Geburtsfest, p. 316, ff. (where also are further particulars as to the name Devaki).

the Chhandogyopanishad, is the voluminous literature, the existence of which is presupposed by the enumeration at the beginning of the ninth book. Even supposing this ninth book to be a sort of supplement (the names of Sanatkumára and Skanda are not found elsewhere in Vedic literature: Nárada also is otherwise only mentioned in the second part of the Aitareya-Bráhmana 69), there still remains the mention of the 'Atharvángirasas,' as well as of the Itihasas and Puranas in the fifth book. are not at liberty here, any more than in the corresponding passages of the Vrihad-Aranyaka, to understand by these last the Itihasas and Puranas which have actually come down to us, still we must look upon them as the forerunners of these works, which, originating in the legends and traditions connected with the songs of the Rik, and with the forms of worship, gradually extended their range, and embraced other subjects also, whether drawn from real life, or of a mythical and legendary character. Originally they found a place in the Bráhmanas, as well as in the other expository literature of the Vedas; but at the time of this passage of the Chhándogyopanishad they had possibly already in part attained an independent form, although the commentaries.* as a rule, only refer such expressions to passages in the Bráhmanas themselves. The Mahá-Bhárata contains, especially in the first book, a few such Itihásas, still in a prose form; nevertheless, even these fragments so preserved to us belong, in respect both of style and of the conceptions they embody, to a much later period than the similar passages of the Bráhmanas. They however suffice, together with the ślokas, gáthás, &c., quoted in the Bráhmanas themselves, and with such works as the Barhaddaivata, to bridge over for us the period of transition from legend to epic poetry.

We meet, moreover, in the Chhándogyopanishad with one of those legal cases which are so seldom mentioned in Vedic literature, viz., the infliction of capital punishment for (denied) theft, exactly corresponding to the severe

⁶⁹ And a few times in the Atharva-Samhitá, as also in the Vansa of the Sámavidhána-Bráhmana.

^{*} Not Śamkara, it is true, in this

case, but Sáyana, Harisvámin, and Dvivedagaüga in similar passages of the Satapatha-Bráhmana and Taittiríya-Áranyaka.

enactments regarding it in Manu's code. Guilt or inno-cence is determined by an ordeal, the carrying of a redhot axe: this also is analogous to the decrees in Manu. We find yet another connecting link with the state of culture in Manu's time in a passage occurring also in the Vrihad-Aranyaka, viz . the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. We here meet with this doctrine for the first time, and that in a tolerably complete form; in itself, however, it must certainly be regarded as much more ancient. The circumstance that the myth of the creation in the fifth book is on the whole identical with that found at the beginning of Manu, is perhaps to be explained by regarding the latter as simply a direct imitation of the The tenth book, the subject of which is the soul. its seat in the body and its condition on leaving it, ie, its migration to the realm of Brahman, contains much that is of interest in this respect in connection with the abovementioned parallel passage of the Kaushitaky-Upanishad, from which it differs in some particulars. Here also for the first time in the field of Vedic literature occurs the name Ráhu, which we may reckon among the proofs of the comparatively recent date of the Chhandogyopanishad. doc-

t yána (he is also in the Sat. Br.]; for "inhabited place," ardha is used;

also in the Sat. Br.]; for "inhabited place," ardha is used single slokas and gathas are very often quoted.

The Chhandogyopanishad has been edited by Dr. Roer in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, vol. iii, along with Samkara's commentary and a gloss on it. The Fr. Windischmann had previously given us several passages of it in the original, and several in translation; see also *I. St.*, i. 254-273.

The Kenopanishad has come down to us as the remnant of a fourth Brihmana of the Samaveda, supposed to be its ninth book.* In the colophons and in the quotations found in the commentaries, it also bears the other-

⁷⁰ In this series (1854-62) a translation also has been published by Rájendra Láld Mitra. ** Regarding the contents of the

wise unknown name of the Talavakáras.* It is divided into two parts: the first, composed in ślokas, treats of the being of the supreme Brahman, appealing in the fourth verse to the tradition of the "earlier sages who have taught us this" as its authority. The second part contains a legend in support of the supremacy of Brahman, and here we find Umá Haimavatí, later the spouse of Śiva, acting as mediatrix between Brahman and the other gods, probably because she is imagined to be identical with Sarasvatí, or Vách, the goddess of speech, of the creative word.†

These are the extant Bráhmanas of the Sámaveda. Sáyana, indeed, in his commentary on the Sámavidhána enumerates eight (see Müller, Rik i. Pref. p. xxvii): the Praudha- or Muhá-Brúhmana (i.c., the Pañchavinsa), the Shadvinsa, the Samavidhi, the Arshova, the Devatadhyava, the Upanishad, the Samhitopanishad, and the Vansa. The claims, however, of four of these works to the name of Bráhmana, have no solid foundation. The Ársheva is, as already stated, merely an Anukramaní, and the Devatádhyaya can hardly be said to be anything else; the Vansa elsewhere always constitutes a part of the Bráhmanas themselves: the two latter works, moreover, can scarcely be supposed to be still in existence, which, as far as the Vansa is concerned, is certainly very much to be regretted. The Sámavidhána also, which probably treats, like the portion of the Látyáyana-Sútra bearing the same name, of the conversion of the richas into samans, can hardly pass for a Bráhmana.ⁿ As to the Samhitopanishad, it appears

an Anukramani, but only contains some information as to the deities of the different samans, to which a few other short fragments are added. Finally, the Samavidbana-Brahmana does not treat of the conversion of richas into samans; on the contrary, it is a work similar to the Rigvidhana, and relates to the employment of the samans for all sorts of superstitious purposes. Both texts have likewise been edited by Burnell, with Sayana's commentaries (1873). By Kumárila, too, the number of the Brihmanas of the Samaveda is given as eight (Müller,

^{*} Might not this name be traceable to the same root tád, taṇḍ, from which Táṇḍya is derived?

[†] On the literature, &c., of the Kenopanishad, see I. St., ii. 181, ff. [We have to add Roer's edition with Samkara's commentary, in Bibliotheca Indica, vol. viii., and his translation, ibid., vol. xv.]

⁷¹ The above statements require to be corrected and supplemented in several particulars. The Vańśa-Bráhmana was first edited by myself in *I. St.*, iv. 371, ff., afterwards by Burnell with Sáyana's commentary (1873). The Devatádhyáya is not

to me doubtful whether Sigana meant by it the Ketpanishad; for though the sarthild (universality) of the Supreme Being certainly is discussed in the latter, the subject is not handled under this name, as would seem to be demanded by the analogy of the title of the Samilitoranishad of the Aitareya-Aranyaka as well as of the Taittiriva-Aranyaka. My conjecture would be that he is far more likely to have intended a work™ of the same title, of which there is a MS, in the British Museum (see I. St., i. 42); and if so, all mention of the Kenopanished has been emitted by him; possibly for the reason that it appears at the same time in an Atharvan-recension (differing but little, it is true), and may have been regarded by him as belonging to the Atharvan?

There is a far greater number of Safras to the Simayeda than to any of the other Vedas. We have here three Śrauta-Sutras; a Sutra which forms a running commentary upon the Panchavinsa-Brahmana; five Sitms on Metres and on the conversion of riches into sommer: and a Grihya-Sútra. To these must further be added other similar works of which the titles only are known to us, as

well as a great mass of different Parisishtas.

Of the Srauta-Sútras or Sútras treating of the sacrificial ritual, the first is that of Masaka, which is cited in the other Sima-Sútras, and even by the teachers mentioned in these, sometimes as Arsheyr-Kalpr, sometimes as Kalpa, and once also by Latyayana directly under the name of Masaka.73 In the colophons it bears the name of Kalpa-Sútra. This Sútra is but a tabular enumeration of the prayers belonging to the several ceremonies of the Soma sacrifice; and these are quoted partly by their technical Saman names, partly by their opening words. The

72 This is unquestionably correct.

A.S. L., p. 345); in his time all of since this text appears there, as well them were already without accents. One fact deserves to be specially noticed here, namely, that several of the teachers mentioned in the Vanisa - Brahmana, by their very names, point us directly to the northwest of India, e.g., Kamboja Aupamanyava, Madragira Saungiyani, Sau Aushtrakshi, Salamkiyana, and Kanhala ; see I. St., iv. 378-380.

as elsewhere, in cornection with the Vania Bellimina, ha It is not much larger than the Devetilly fra but has not yet been published; see J. St., 1v. 375.

[&]quot; Lityayana designates Maiaka es Girrya. Is this name commerced with the Marraya of the Greeks? Latter, I. Al., L 130; I. St., it

mentioned also in another Sútra, the Nidána-Sútra; the same is the case with Dhanamjayya. Besides these, however, Latyayana mentions a number of other teachers and schools, as, for example, his own acharyas, with especial frequency; the Arsheya-Kalpa, two different Gautamas, one being distinguished by the guerrame Stharing to tech

nical title, especially with the

vrikshi (a teacher known to Kautsa, Várshaganya, Bhánditáyana, Lámakáyana, Ránáyaniputra, &c.; and in particular, the Satyayanins, and their work, the Satyayanaka, together with the Salankayanins, the latter of whom are well known to belong to the western part of India. Such allusions occur in the Sútra of Látvávana, as in the other Sútras of the Sámaveda, much more frequently than in the Sútras of the other Vedas, and are in my opinion evidence of their priority to the latter. At the time of the former there still existed manifold differences of opinion, while in that of the latter a greater unity and fixedness of exegesis, of dogma, and of worship had been attained. The remaining data appear also to point to such a priority, unless we have to explain them merely from the difference of locality. The condition of the Sudras, as well as of the Nishadas, ie, the Indian aborigines, does not here appear to be one of such oppression and wretchedness as it afterwards became. It was permitted to sojourn with them (Sándilya, it is true, restricts this permission to "in the neighbourhood of their gramas"), and they themselves were allowed to attend in person at the ceremonies, although outside of the sacrificial ground. They are, moreover, now and then represented, though for the most part in a mean capacity, as taking an actual part on such occasions, which is not to be thought of in later times. Toleration was still a matter of necessity, for, as we likewise see, the strict Brahmanical principle was not yet recognised even among the neighbouring Aryan tribes. These, equally with the Brahmanical Indians, held in high esteem the songs and customs of their ancestors, and devoted to them quite as much study as the Brahmanical Indians did; nay, the latter now and then directly resorted to the former, and borrowed distinct ceremonies from them sufficiently clear from the particulars of one ceremony of the kind, which is embodied, not indeed in the Panchavinsa-Bráhmana, but in the Shadvinsa-Bráhmana, and which is described at full length by Látyáyana. It is an imprecatory ceremony (called sucna, falcon); and this naturally suggests the idea that the ceremonial of the Atharvan, which is essentially based upon imprecations and magical expedients.—as well as the songs of the Atharvan itself,—may perhaps chiefly owe its cultivation to these western, non-Brahmanical, Aryan tribes. The general name given to these tribes by Látyáyana (and with this Pánini v. 2. 21 agrees) is Vrátinas, and he further draws a distinction between their *yaudhas*, warriors, and their *arhants*. teachers Their anúchánas, i.e., those versed in Scripture. are to be chosen priests for the above-mentioned sacrifice. Sándilya limits this to the arhants alone, which latter word—subsequently, as is well known, employed exclusively as a Buddhistic title—is also used in the Bráhmana of the White Yajus, and in the Aranyaka of the Black Yajus, to express a teacher in general. The turban and garments of these priests should be red (lohita) according to Shadvinsa and Latyayana; and we find the same colour assigned to the sacrificial robes of the priests of the Rákshasas in Lanká, in the Rámáyana, vi. 19, 110, 51, 21; with which may be compared the light red, yellowish red (kasháya) garments of the Buddhists (see for instance Mrichhakat, pp. 112, 114, ed. Stenzler; M.-Bhár., xii. 566. 11898; Yájnav., i. 272), and the red (rakta) dress of the Sámkhyabhikshu * in the Laghujátaka of Varáha-Mihira. Now, that these western non-Brahmanical Vrátyas, Vrátínas, were put precisely upon a par with the eastern non-Brahmanical, i.e., Buddhistic, teachers, appears from an addition which is given by Látyáyana to the description of the Vrátyastomas as found in the Pañchavinsa-Bráh-We are there told that the converted Vrátyas, i.e., those who have entered into the Brahman community, must, in order to cut off all connection with their past, hand over their wealth to those of their companions who still abide by the old mode of life—thereby transferring to these their own former impurity—or else, to a "Brahma-

^{*} According to the commentary; or should this be Śakyabhikshu! See I. St., ii. 287.

bandhu Mágadhadesíya." This latter expression is only explicable if we assume that Buddhism, with its anti-Brahmanical tendencies, was at the time flourishing in Magadha; and the absence of any such allusion in the Pañchavihsa-Brihmana is significant as to the time which elansed between this work and the Sútra of Látvárana.*

The first seven praphthalas of the Látyáyana-Sútra comprise the rules common to all Soma sacrifices; the eighth and part of the ninth book treat, on the contrary, of the separate chilas; the remainder of the ninth book, of the alkinas; and the tenth, of the sattras. We have an excellent commentary on it by Agnisvámin, who belongs probably to the same period as the other commentators whose names terminate in scamma, as Bhavasvámin, Bharatasvámin, Dhúrtasvámin, Harisvámin, Khadirasvámin, Meghasvámin, Skandasvámin, Kahirasvámin, &c; their time, however, is as yet undetermined."

The third Sama-Stira, that of Drahydyaga, differs but slightly from the Látyáyana-Stira, I belongs to the school of the Ránáyaniyas. We meet with the name of these latter in the Ránáyaniputra of Látyáyana; his family is descended from Vasishtha, for which reason this Sutra is also directly called Vásishtha-Sátra. For the name Dráhyáyana nothing analogous can be adduced ⁷⁸ The difference between this Sútra and that of Látváyana.

bitants regarding it as a means of recovering their old position though under a new form.

76 We now possess in the Bibl. Indica (1870-72) an edition of the L4tyáyana-Sútra, with Agnisvámin's commentary, by Anandachandra Vedúntavágisa.

We find quite a cluster of Brahman names in **ridmin in an inceription dated \$1kn 627 in Journal Bombay Branch R. A. S. in. 208 (1851), and in an undated inscription in Journal Am Or. Soc., vi 589

78 It first occurs in the Vansa-

⁷⁸ It first occurs in the Vania-Brahmana, whose first hat of teachers probably refers to this very school; see I. St., iv. 378: draha is said to be a Prakrit corruption of hrada; see Hem. Prakri, ii 80, 120.

In the Rik-Sambitá, where the Kikatas-the ancient name of the people of Magadha-and their king Pramagamda are mentioned as hostile, we have probably to think of the aborigmes of the country, and not of hostile Aryas (*). It seems not impossible that the native inhabitants, being particularly vigorous, retained more influence in Magadha than elsewhere, even after the country had been brahmanised,-a process which perhaps was never completely effected;—that they joined the community of the Brahmans as Kahatriyas, as happened elsewhere also: and that this is how we have to account for the special sympathy and success which Buddhism met with in Magadha, these native inha-



the obscure passages of the Panchavinsa-Brühmana and. it would appear, of the Shadvinsa-Brahmana also, accompanying the text step by step. It has not as yet been closely examined; but it promises to prove a rich mine of material for the history of Brahmanical theology, as it makes mention of, and appeals to, an extremely large number of different works. For example, of schools of the Rik, it cites the Aitarevins, the Paingins, the Kaushitaka: of schools of the Yajus, the Adhvaryus in general: further, the Sátvávanins, Khádávanins, the Taittiríyas, the Kathaka, the Kalabavins, Bhallavins, Sambuvis, Vájasanevins: and frequently also śruti, smriti, ácháryas, &c. It is a work which deserves to be very thoroughly studied 80

While the above-named four Sútras of the Sámaveda specially attach themselves to the Panchavinsa-Brahmana. the Sutras now to be mentioned stand out more independently beside the latter, although of course, in part at least, often referring to it. In the first place, we have to mention the Nulana-Sutra, which contains in ten prapáthakas metrical and other similar investigations on the different -ukthas, stomas, and ganas. The name of the author is not given. The word nidána, 'root,' is used with reference to metre in the Brahmana of the White Yajus: 81 and though in the two instances where the · Naidánas are mentioned by Yáska, their activity appears to have been directed less to the study of metre than to that of roots, etymology, still the Nidanasaminaka Grantha is found cited in the Brihaddevata, 5. 5, either directly as the Sruti of the Chhandogas, or at least as containing their Sruti.* This Sútra is especially remarkable for the great number of Vedic schools and teachers whose various opinions it adduces; and in this respect it stands on pretty much the same level as the Anupada-Sútra. It differs from it, however, by its particularly frequent quotation

⁸¹ Unfortunately we do not even or yo rd atrd 'gnir gdyatri sa niddnow know of more than one MS ; see I St., i. 43. ATT. I form

at This is wrong; on the contrary, the word has quite a general meaning in the passages in question (e g., in gayatri ed esha nidanena,

⁻munn, pp 39, IL, 404, IL

also of the views of the Saman theologians named by Latya-yana and Drahyayana, viz., Dhanamjayya, Sandilya, Sauchivrikshi, &c.—a thing which seldom or never occurs in the former. The animosity to the Kaushitakis, with which we have already become acquainted in the Panchavinsa-Brahmana, is here again exhibited most vividly in some words attributed to Dhanamjayya. With regard to the Rigveda, the dasatayi division into ten mandalas is mentioned, as in Yaska. The allusion to the Atharvanikas, as well as to the Anubrahmanins, is particularly to be remarked; the latter peculiar name is not met with elsewhere, except in Panini. A special study of this Satra is also much to be desired, as it likewise promises to open up a wealth of information regarding the condition of literature at that period. Sa

Not much information of this sort is to be expected from the Pushpa-Sútra of Gobhila,* which has to be named along with the Nidána-Sútra. The understanding of this Sútra is, moreover, obstructed by many difficulties. For not only does it cite the technical names of the súmans, as well as other words, in a very curtailed form. it also makes use of a number of grammatical and other technical terms, which, although often agreeing with the corresponding ones in the Pratisakhya-Sútras, are yet also often formed in quite a peculiar fashion, here and there, indeed, quite after the algebraic type so favoured by Pánini. This is particularly the case in the first four prapathakas; and it is precisely for these that, up to the present time at least, no commentary has been found; whereas for the remaining six we possess a very good commentary by Upádhyáya Ajátasatru.† The work treats of the modes in which the separate richas, by various insertions, &c., are transformed into sámans, or "made to blossom," as it were, which is evidently the origin of the name Pushpa-Sútra, or "Flower-Sútra." In addition to

+ Composed for his pupil, Vish-

nuyasas.

⁸º See I. St., i. 44, ff.; the first two patalas, which have special reference to metre, have been edited and translated by me in I. St., viii. 85-124. For Anubrahmanin, and see also Asv. Sr., ii. 8. 11, and Schol. on T. S., i. 8. 1. 1.

^{*} So, at least, the author is called in the colophons of two chapters in MS. Chambers 220 [Catalogue of the Berlin MSS., p. 76].

the Pravachana, i.e. (according to the commentary), Brihmana, of the Kalabavins and that of the Satiyayanins, I found, on a cursory inspection, mention also of the Kauthumas. This is the first time that their name appears in a work connected with Vedic literature. Some portions of the work, particularly in the last books, are composed in slokas, and we have, doubtless, to regard it as a compilation of pieces belonging to different periods. In close connection with it stands the Sâma-Tantra, composed in the same manner, and equally unintelligible without a commentary. It treats, in thirteen prayditakas, of accent and the accentuation of the separate verses. A commentary on it is indeed extant, but at present only in a fragmentary form. At its close the work is denoted as the vuklarana, grammar, of the Sâman theologana, sa

its name,

well as from

which this process is effected. Upon a second, the Irrati-hāra-Sūtra, which is ascribed to Kātyāyana, a commentary called Daśatayi was composed by Varadarija, the above-mentioned commentator of Maśaka. It treats of the aforesaid five vidhis, with particular regard to the one called pratitūra. The Tanadūkashana - Sūtra is only known to me by name, as also the Upagrantha-Sūtra* both of which, with the two other works just named, are, according to the catalogue, found in the Fort-William

Lam des Hala (1870), pp. 258, 259. I now possess a copy of the text and commentary, but have nothing of consequence to add to the above remarks

See also Burnell, Catalogue, pp. 40, 41 — Ibid. p. 44, we find a "Svarapartibleshid, or Simalakshapa," specified. Kaiyata also mentions a "samadalshapam pratitidihyam kis-

tram, by which he explains the word ukthártha, which, according to the Mindobishya, is at the foundation of aukthúr, whose formation is taught by Fajim in imself (iv. 2, 60); see I. St., xiu. 447. According to this it certainly seems very doubtful whether the Sárialakshana mentoned by Kayata is to be identified with the extant work bearing the same name.

* Shadgurusiahya, in the introduction to his commentary on the Anukramani of the Rik, describes Katyayana as 'upagranihasya karaka,'

⁸³ In Dekhan MSS, the work is

collection of MSS. By the anonymous transcriber of the Berlin MS. of the Maśaka-Sútra, who is of course a very weak authority, ten Śrauta-Sútras for the Sámaveda are enumerated at the close of the MS., viz., besides Látyáyana, Anupada, Nidána, Kalpa, Tandálakshana, Pañchavidheya, and the Upagranthas, also the Kalpánupada, Anustotra, and the Kshudras. What is to be understood by the three last names must for the present remain undecided.⁸⁵

The Grilina-Sútra of the Sámaveda belongs to Gobhila. the same to whom we also found a Srauta-Sutra and the Pushpa-Sútra ascribed.86 His name has a very unvedic ring, and nothing in any way coresponding to it appears in the rest of .Vedic literature.87 In what relation this work, drawn up in four prapathakas, stands to the Grihya-Sútras of the remaining Vedas has not yet been investigated.88 A supplement (parisishta) to it is the Karmapradípa of Kátyáyana. In its introductory words it expressly acknowledges itself to be such a supplement to Gobhila; but it has also been regarded both as a second Grihva-Sútra and as a Smriti-Sástra. According to the statement of Asárka, the commentator of this Karmapradipa, the Grihya-Sutra of Gobhila is authoritative for both the schools of the Sámaveda, the Kauthumas as well as the Ránávanívas.*—Is the Khádira-Grihua, which is now and then mentioned, also to be classed with the Sámaveda? 89

* Among the authors of the Smriti-Sastras a Kuthumi is also mentioned.

the Grihya-Sútras of Khádira,' Burnell, p. 57. To the Grihya-Sútras of the Sámaveda probably belong also Gautama's *Pitrimedha-Sútra*

⁸⁵ On the Panchavidhi-Sútra and the Kalpánupada, each in two prapáthakas, and the Kshaudra, in three prapáthakas, see Müller, A. S. L., p. 210; Aufrecht, Catalogus, p. 377b. The Upagrantha-Sútra treats of expiations, práyaśchittas, see Rájendra L. M., Notices of Sanskrit MSS., ii. 182.

⁸⁶ To him is also ascribed a Naigeya-Sútra, "a description of the Metres of the Sámayeda," see Colin Browning, Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in Oude (1873), p. 4.

⁸⁷ A list of teachers belonging to the Gobhila school is contained in the Vansa-Brahmana.

⁶⁸ An edition of the Gobhila-Grihya-Sútra, with a very diffuse commentary by the editor, Chan-

drakánta Tarkálamkára, has been commenced in the *Bibl. Indica* (1871); the fourth *fasciculus* (1873) reaches to ii. 8. 12. See the sections relating to nuptial ceremonies in Haas's paper, *I. St.*, v. 283, ff.

⁸⁹ Certainly. In Burnell's Catalogue, p. 56, the Dráhyáyana-Grihya-Sútra (in four patalas) is attributed to Khádira. Rudraskandasvámin composed a critti on this work also (see p. 80); and Vámana is named as the author of 'kárikás to

As representative of the last stage of the literature of the Samaveda, we may specify, on the one hand, the various Paddhatis (outlines) and commentaries, &c., which connect themselves with the Sútras, and serve as an explanation and further development of them; and, on the other, that peculiar class of short treatises bearing the name of Parisishtas, which are of a somewhat more independent character than the former, and are to be looked upon more as supplements to the Sútras * Among these. the already mentioned Arsha and Dairata—enumerations of the Rishis and deities-of the Samhitá in the Naigeya-Śákhá deserve prominent notice. Both of these treatises refer throughout to a comparatively ancient tradition; for example, to the Nairuktas, headed by Yaska and Sakapuni, to the Naighantukas, to Saunaka (1.e., probably to his Anukramaní of the Rik), to their own Bráhmana, to Aitareya and the Aitareyans, to the Satapathikas, to the Pravachana Kathaka, and to Asvalayana. The Dalbhya-Parisishta ought probably also to be mentioned here; it bears the name of an individual who appears several times in the Chhandogyopanishad, but particularly often in the I'uranas, as one of the sages who conduct the dialogue.

The Yajureeda, to which we now turn, is distinguished above the other Vedas by the great number of different schools which belong to it. This is at once a consequence and a proof of the fact that it became pre-eminently the subject of study, inasmuch as it contains the formulas for the entire sacrificial ceremonial, and indeed forms its

* Rámakrishna, in his commen-

⁽cf. Burnell, p. 57; the commentator Anantayayan identifies the author with Akshapata, the author of the Nyiya Satra), and the Gautama-Dharma-Satra; see the section treating of the legal literature.

iary on the Grihya-Sútra of the White Yajus, several times ascribes their authorship to a Kátyájana (India Office Library, No. 440, fol. 52*, 56*, 56*, &c.); or do these quotations only refer to the abovenamed Karmapradips.

this very fact of the Black Yajus being made up of khandas, fragments, although Pánini,* as in the case of Taittiríya, traces it to a Rishi of the name of Khandika, and although we do really meet with a Khandika (Audbhári) in the Bráhmana of the White Yajus (xi. 8. 4. 1).

Of the many schools which are allotted to the Black Yajus, all probably did not extend to Samhitá and Bráhmana; some probably embraced the Sútras only.† Thus far, at least, only three different recensions of the Samhitá are directly known to us, two of them in the text itself. the third merely from an Anukramani of the text. two first are the Taittiriya-Samhitá, κατ' εξοχήν so called, which is ascribed to the school of Apastamba, a subdivision of the Khandikíyas; and the Káthaka, which belongs to the school of the Charakas, and that particular subdivision of it which bears the name of Cháráyaníyas. The Samhitá, &c., of the Átreva school, a subdivision of the Aukhiyas, is only known to us by its Anukramani; it agrees in essentials with that of Apastamba. This is not the case with the Káthaka, which stands on a more independent footing, and occupies a kind of intermediate position between the Black and the White Yajus, agreeing frequently with the latter as to the readings, and with the former in the arrangement of the matter. The Káthaka, together with the Háridravíka—a lost work, which, however, likewise certainly belonged to the Black Yajus, viz., to the school of the Haridraviyas, a subdivision of the Maitráyaníyas—is the only work of the Bráhmana order mentioned by name in Yáska's Nirukta. Pánini, too, makes direct reference to it in a rule, and it is further alluded to in the Anupada-Sútra and Brihaddevatá. name of the Kathas does not appear in other Vedic writings, nor does that of Apastamba.§

thala-Kathas; the epithet of these last is found in Panini (viii. 3.91), and Megasthenes mentions the $Ka\mu\beta i\sigma\theta o\lambda ot$ as a people in the Panjáb—In the Fort-William Catalogue a Kapishthala-Samhitá is mentioned [see I. St., xiii. 375, 439.—At the time of the Mahábháshya the position of the Kathas must have been one of great consideration, since

^{*} The rule is the same as that for Tittiri. The remark in the previous note, therefore, applies here also.

[†] As is likewise the case with the other Vedas.

[‡] Besides the text, we have also a Rishyanukramani for it.

[§] In later writings several Kathas are distinguished, the Kathas, the Prachya-Kathas, and the Kapish-

The Samhita of the Apastamba school consists of seven books (called ashtakas !); these again are divided into 44 prasnas, 651 anurakas, and 2198 kandikas, the latter being separated from one another on the principle of an equal number of syllables to each.90 Nothing definite can be ascertained as to the extent of the Atreya recension; it is likewise divided into kándas, prasnas, and anurákas, the first words of which coincide mostly with those of the corresponding sections of the Apastamba school. The Kathaka is quite differently divided, and consists of five parts, of which the three first are in their turn divided into forty sthánakas, and a multitude of small sections (also probably separated according to the number of words); while the fourth merely specifies the richas to be sung by the Hotar, and the fifth contains the formulas belonging to the horse-sacrifice In the colophons to the three first parts, the Charaka-Sákhá is called Ithimiká, Madhyamiká, and Orimiká, respectively: the first and last of these three appellations are still unexplained of The Brahmana portion in these works is extremely meagre as regards the ritual, and gives but an imperfect picture of it; it is, however, peculiarly rich in legends of a mythological character. The sacrificial formulas themselves are on the whole the same as those contained in the Samhita of the White Yaius: but the order is different, although the

they—and their text, the Kátbaka—are repeatedly mentioned; see of £8, xin, 43, ff. The founder of their school, Katha, appears in the Mahdbadhya as Vaisumptyan's upul; and the Kathas themselves appear in close connection with the Kathas appear in the Kathas themselves appear in the Kathas themselves appear in the Kathas themselves of the Samul India Kathas appear in the Kathas the Kathas appear in Ayothyd (ii. 32. 18, Schlegel). Haradatta's statement, "Bahrirtha mar apysis Kathas'akha" (ib51), yol il p 524, on Pfn, vil. 4, 35), probably rests upon some misunderstanding; see f. £8, xiii. (433, 1).

30 It is not the number of syllables, but the number of words, that

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⁸¹ Ithimiká is to be derived from heffhima (from heffhå, ie, adhasiat), and Orimiká from utarima (from upari); see my paper, Viber die Bha-

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90 It is not the number of syllables, but the number of words, that

constitutes the norm: fifty words. as a rule, form a kandika, see I. St, xi. 13, xn. 90, xm. 97-99. -- Instead of ashfala, we find also the more correct name Landa, and instead of praina, which is peculiar to the Taittiriya texts, the generally employed term, prapathaka; see I. St. xi. 13, 124.—The Taitt. Brahm. and the Taitt. Ar., are also subdivided into kandikus, and these sgun into very small sections; but the principle of these divisions has not yet been clearly ascertained.

21 Ithimika is to be derived from hetthima (from hetthd, ie., adhastdt), and Ormika from maring (from upari); see my paper, Ucher die Bhagarati der Juina, i. 404, n.

order of the ceremonial to which they belong is pretty much the same. There are also many discrepancies with regard to the words; we may instance, in particular, the expansion of the semi-vowels v and y after a consonant into uv and iy, which is peculiar to the Apastamba school.⁹² As to data, geographical or historical, &c. (here, of course, I can only speak of the Apastamba school and the Káthaka), in consequence of the identity of matter these are essentially the same as those which meet us in the Samhitá of the White Yajus. (In the latter, however, they are more numerous, formulas being also found here for ceremonies which are not known in the former—the purushamedha, for instance.) Now these data—to which we must add some other scattered allusions * in the portions bearing the character of a Bráhmana—carry us back, as we shall see, to the flourishing epoch of the kingdom of the Kuru-Panchalas,93 in which district we must therefore recognise the place of origin of both works. Whether this also holds good of their final redaction is another question, the answer to which, as far as the Apastamba-Samhitá is concerned, naturally depends upon the amount of influence in its arrangement to be ascribed to Apastamba, whose name it bears. The Káthaka, according to what has been stated above, appears to have existed as an entirely finished work even in Yaska's time, since he quotes it; the Anukramani of the Atreya school, on the contrary, makes Yáska Paingi 94 (as the pupil of Vaisam-páyana) the teacher of Tittiri, the latter again the in-

92 For further particulars, see

[This remains correct, though the position of the case itself is somewhat different; see the notes above, p. 2 and p. 30. In connection with the enumeration of the Nakshatras, compare especially my essay, Die redischen Nachrichten von den Nakshatra, ii. 299, ff.]

93 Of peculiar interest is the mention of Dhritaráshtra Vaichitravírya, as also of the contests between the Pañchálas and the Kuntis in the Káthaka; see *I. St.*, iii. 469-472.

⁹⁴ Bhatta Bhaskara Miśra, on the contrary, gives Yajnavalka instead of Paingi; see Burnell's Catalogue,

^{1.} St., xiii. 104-106. * Amongst them, for example, the enumeration of the whole of the lunar asterisms in the Apastamba-Samhitá, where they appear in an order deviating from that of the later series, which, as I have pointed out above (p. 30), must necessarily have been fixed between 1472 and 536 B.C. But all that follows from this, in regard to the passage in question, is that it is not earlier than 1472 B.C., which is a matter of course; it nowise follows that it may not be later than 536 B.C. So we obtain nothing definite here.

structor of Ukha, and Ukha the preceptor of Átreya.* This at least clearly exhibits its author's view of the priority of Yaska to the schools and redactions of the Black Yajus bearing the names of Tituri and Atreya; although the data necessary to prove the correctness of this view are wanting. That, however, some sort of influence in the arrangement of the Samhita of the Black Yajus is certainly to be attributed to Yaska, is evident further from the fact that Bhatta Bháskara, Misra, in an extant fragment of his commentary on the Apastambe-Samhitá, if quotes, side by side with the views of Kásakritsna and Ekachurni regarding a division of the text, the opinion of Yaska also.

Along with the Káthaka, the Mánava and the Maitra are very frequently quoted in the commentaries on the Kátíya-Sútra of the White Yajus. We do not, it is true, find these names in the Sútras or similar works; but at all events they are meant for works resembling the Káthaka, as is shown by the quotations themselves, which are often of considerable length. Indeed, we also find, although only in later writings, the Maitráyaníyas, and, as a subdivision of these, the Mánavas, mentioned as schools of the Black Yajus. Possibly these works may still be in existence in India.;

with Sayana's complete commentary, was commenced by Roer (1854), continued by Cowell and Rama Narayana, and is now in the hands of

trattaj jece z. ot., xm. 331j. † We have, besides, a commentary by Sayana, though it is only fragmentary; another is ascribed to a Balakrishna [In Burnell's Col-lection of MSS., see his Catalogue, pp. 12-14, 19 found the greater portion of Bhatta Kausika Bhaskara Misra's commentary, under the name Indnayajna; the author is said to have lived 400 years before Siyana; he quotes amongst others Bhayasydmm, and seems to stand in special connection with the Atreyi school A Paisachabhashya on the Black Yains is also mentioned : see I. St . ix. 176 -An edition of the Taittuiya-Samhita in the Bibl. Indica.

myself în I. St, xi., xu. (1871-72). Ou the Kathaka, see I. St, 111. 451-479]

theorem to the Fort-William Catalogue, the 'Malirdynni-Sikhd' is in existence there. [Other MSS., have since been found; see Hang in I. St., ir. 175, and his essay Brahma and die Brahmanen, pp. 31-34 (1871) and B. 1874 (1874) and B. 1874 (18

sists at present of five Idndas, two of which, however, are but later ad-

Besides the Samhitá so called, there is a Bráhmana recognised by the school of Apastamba, and also by that of Atreya,* which, however, as I have already remarked, differs from the Samhitá, not as to the nature of its contents, but only in point of time; it is, in fact, to be regarded merely as a supplement to it. It either reproduces the formulas contained in the Samhitá, and connects them with their proper ritual, or it develops further the liturgical rules already given there; or again, it adds to these entirely new rules, as, for instance, those concerning the nurushamedha, which is altogether wanting in the Samhitá, and those referring to the sacrifices to the lunar asterisms. Only the third and last book, in twelve prapathakas, together with Sáyana's commentary, is at present The three last prapathakas, which contain four different sections, relating to the manner of preparing certain peculiarly sacred sacrificial fires, are ascribed in the Anukramani of the Atreya school (and this is also confirmed by Sayana in another place) to the sage Katha. Two other sections also belong to it, which, it seems, are only found in the Atreya school, and not in that of Apastamba; and also, lastly, the two first books of the Taittiriya-Aranyaka, to be mentioned presently. Together these eight sections evidently form a supplement to the Káthaka above discussed; they do not, however, appear to exist as an independent work, but only in connection with the Brahmana and Aranyaka of the Apastamba-(and Atreya-) schools, from which, for the rest, they can be externally distinguished easily enough by the absence of the expansion of v and y into uv and iy. The legend quoted towards the end of the second of these sections (prap. xi. 8), as to the visit of Nachiketas, to the lower

ditions, viz., the Upanishad (see below), which passes as kánda ii., and the last kánda, called Khila.]

95 All three books have been

edited, with Sáyana's commentary, in the Bibl. Ind. (1855-70), by Rájendra Lála Mitra. The Hiranyakesisákhíya-Bráhmana quoted by Bühler, Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. from Gujarát, i. 38, is not likely to depart much from the ordinary Apastamba text; the respective Srauta-Sútras at least agree almost literally with each other; see Bühler, Apastambíya-dharmasútra, Preface, p. 6 (1868).

^{*} At least as regards the fact, for the designation Samhita or Brahmana does not occur in its Anukramani. On the contrary, it passes without any break from the portions which belong in the Apastamba "school to the Samhita, to those there belonging to the Brahmana.

world, gave rise to an Upanishad of the Atharvan which bears the name of Kathakopanishad. Now, between this supplement to the Kathaka and the Kathaka itself a considerable space of time must have elapsed, as follows from the allusions made in the last sections to Mahá-Meru, Krauncha, Mainága; to Vaisampáyana, Vyása Párásarya, &c.: as well as from the literature therein presupposed as existing, the 'Atharvángirasas,' Bráhmanas, Italásas, Puránas, Kalpas, Gáthás, and Nárásansís being enumerated as subjects of study (svádhyáya). Further, the last but one, of these sections is ascribed to another author, viz, to the Arunas, or to Aruna, whom the scholast on Pánini 96 speaks of as a pupil of Vaisampayana, a statement with which its mention of the latter as an authority tallies excellently: this section is perhaps therefore only erroneously assigned to the school of the Kathas.-The Taittiriva-Aranyaka, at the head of which that section stands (as already remarked), and which belongs both to the Apastamba and Atreva schools, must at all events be regarded as only a later supplement to their Brahmana, and belongs, like most of the Aranyakas, to the extreme end of the Vedic period. It consists of ten books, the first six of which are of a liturgical character: the first and third books relate to the manner of preparing certain sacred sacrificial fires; the second to preparatives to the study of Scripture; and the fourth, fifth, and sixth to purificatory sacrifices and those to the Manes, corresponding to the last books of the Samhita of the White Yajus. The last four books of the Aranyaka, on the contrary, contain two Upanishads; viz, the seventh, eighth, and ninth books, the Taittirfyopanishad, κατ' έξοχην so called, and the tenth, the Yajniki- or Narayaniya-Upanishad. The former, or Taittiriyopanishad, is in three parts. The first is the Samhitopanishad, or Śikshávalli, which begins with a short grammatical disquisition,97 and then turns to

⁵⁰ Kanyata on Púp, 'iv. 2. 104 (Mahdubishya, fol. 73% ed. Benares), he calls him, however, Arum intead of Áruŋa, and derives from him the school of the Arumis (acted in the Ehdshya, ibid); the Arumis are cited in the Kathaka itself; see I. St., in. 475.

^{*} Valli means 'a creeper;' it is perhaps meant to describe these Upanishads as 'creepers,' which have attached themselves to the Veda-Silhid.

⁹⁷ See above, p. 61; Muller, A.S. L., p. 113, ff; Haug, Ueber das Hesen des redischen Accents, p. 54.

the question of the unity of the world-spirit. The second and third are the Anandavalli and Bhrigwalli, which together also go by the name of Varuni-Unanishad; and treat of the bliss of entire absorption in meditation upon the Supreme Spirit, and its identity with the individual soul.* If in these we have already a thoroughly systematised form of speculation, we are carried even further in one portion of the Yajniki-Upanishad, where we have to do with a kind of sectarian worship of Náráyana: the remaining part contains ritual supplements. Now, interesting as this whole Aranyaka is from its motley contents and evident piecing together of collected fragments of all sorts, it is from another point of view also of special importance for us. from the fact that its tenth book is actually extant in a double recension, viz., in a text which, according to Sávana's statements, belongs to the Drávidas, and in another, bearing the name of the Andhras, both names of peoples in the south-west of India. Besides these two texts, Sáyana also mentions a recension belonging to the Karnátakas, and another whose name he does not give. Lastly, this tenth book t exists also as an Atharvopanishad, and here again with many variations; so that there is here opened up to criticism an ample field for researches and conjectures. Such, certainly, have not been wanting in Indian literary history; it is seldom, however, that the facts lie so ready to hand as we have them in this case, and this we owe to Sáyana's commentary, which is here really excellent.

When we look about us for the other Bráhmanas of the Black Yajus, we find, in the first place, among the schools

vii.—ix., see the previous note), in Bibl. Ind. (1864-72), by Rájendra Lála Mitra; the text is the Drávida text commented upon by Sáyana, in sixty-four anuvákas, the various readings of the Ándhra text (in eighty anuvákas) being also added. In Burnell's collection there is also a commentary on the Taitt. År., by Bhatta Bháskara Miśra, which, like that on the Samhitá, is entitled Jnánayajna; see Burnell's Catalogue, pp. 16, 17.]

^{*} See a translation, &c., of the Taitt. Upanishad in I. St., ii. 207-235. It has been edited, with Samkara's commentary, by Roer in Bibl. Indica, vol. vii. [; the text alone, as a portion of the Taitt. Ar., by Rájendra Lála Mitra also, see next note. Roer's translation appeared in vol. xv. of the Bibliotheca Indica].

[†] See a partial translation of it in I. St., ii. 78-100. [It is published in the complete edition of the Taitt. Aranyaka, with Sayana's commentary thereon (excepting books

cited in the Sama-Sútras two which must probably be considered as belonging to the Black Yajus, viz., the Bháilavins and the Satyayanins. The Brahmana of the Bhallavins is quoted by the scholiast on Panini, probably following the Mahabhashya,93 as one of the 'old' Brahmanas: we find it mentioned in the Brihaddevatá; Suresvaráchárva also, and even Sayana himself, quote passages from the Bhallavisruti. A passage supposed to be borrowed from the Bhallavi-Upanishad is adduced by the sect of the Madhavas in support of the correctness of their (Dvaita) belief (As Res, xvi. 104). That the Bhallavins belong to the Black Yajus is, however, still uncertain: I only conclude so at present from the fact that Bhallaveva is the name of a teacher specially attacked and censured in the Bráhmana of the White Yajus. As to the Sátuáyanins, whose Brahmana is also reckoned among the 'old' ones by the scholiast on Panini,99 and is frequently quoted, especially by Sayana, it is pretty certain that they belong to the Black Yajus, as it is so stated in the Charanavyuha, a modern index of the different schools of the Vedas, and, moreover, a teacher named Sátyáyanı is twice mentioned in the Brahmana of the White Yajus. The special regard paid to them in the Sama-Sútras, and which, to judge from the quotations, they themselves paid to the Saman, is probably to be explained by the peculiar connection (itself still obscure) which we find elsewhere also between the schools of the Black Yajus and those of the Saman. 100 Thus. the Kathas are mentioned along with the Saman schools

thority in this case either, for it does not mention the Sitiyáyanns in its comment on the sitire's in question (iv 3 105). But Karyata cites the Brübmans Proclaimed by Sityána, &c, as contemporaneous with the Yapana, &ch, as contemporaneous with the Yapana, &c, as contemporaneous with the Yapana Achai Brahmanani and Saubbiani Br, which are mentioned in the Mahdbhalaya, (see, however, high steep 105); and the Mahdbhalayan (195); and the Mahdbhala

⁸³ This is not so, for m the Bid-shya to the particular sifter of Páy. (w. 3 105), the Bhállavin are not mentioned. They are, however, mentioned all they are, however, mentioned elsewhere in the nork, at v. 2. 102 (here Euysta derrest them from a teacher Danhu: Bhállavap notám adályate); as a Bhállavap notám adályate); as a Bhállavap Natupada, vi. 5, their home may have been in the country of the Aunquada, vi. 5, there home may have been in the country of the Aunquada, vi. 5, there home may have been in the country of the third of the Bhállavia. Safet their Brálmana text was still accurated, in the same why as the Sataratha; see Kielhorn, J. St. x. 421.
28 The Mahdbághaya is not his au.

the question of the unity of the world-spirit. The second and third are the Anandavalli and Bhriguvalli, which together also go by the name of Váruní-Upanishad, and treat of the bliss of entire absorption in meditation upon the Supreme Spirit, and its identity with the individual soul.* If in these we have already a thoroughly systematised form of speculation, we are carried even further in one portion of the Yajniki-Upanishad, where we have to do with a kind of sectarian worship of Náráyana: the remaining part contains ritual supplements. Now, interesting as this whole Aranyaka is from its motley contents and evident piecing together of collected fragments of all sorts, it is from another point of view also of special importance for us, from the fact that its tenth book is actually extant in a double recension, viz., in a text which, according to Sáyana's statements, belongs to the Drávidas, and in another, bearing the name of the Andhras, both names of peoples in the south-west of India. Besides these two texts, Sáyana also mentions a recension belonging to the Karnátakas, and another whose name he does not give. Lastly, this tenth book + exists also as an Atharvopanishad, and here again with many variations; so that there is here opened up to criticism an ample field for researches and conjectures. Such, certainly, have not been wanting in Indian literary history; it is seldom, however, that the facts lie so ready to hand as we have them in this case. and this we owe to Sayana's commentary, which is here really excellent.

When we look about us for the other Brahmanas of the Black Yajus, we find, in the first place, among the schools

vii.—ix., see the previous note), in Bibl. Ind. (1864-72), by Rájendra Lála Mitra; the text is the Drávida text commented upon by Sáyaṇa, in sixty-four anuvākas, the various readings of the Andhra text (in eighty anuvākas) being also addd. In Burnell's collection there is also a commentary on the Taitt. År., by Bhaṭṭa Bháskara Miśra, which, like that on the Saṃhiṭá, is entitled Jnánayaṇa; see Burnell's Catalogue, pp. 16, 17.]

^{*} See a translation, &c., of the Taitt. Upanishad in *I. St.*, ii. 207-235. It has been edited, with Samkara's commentary, by Roer in *Bibl. Indica*, vol. vii. [; the text alone, as a portion of the Taitt. Ar., by Rájendra Lála Mitra also, see next note. Roer's translation appeared in vol. xv. of the *Bibliotheca Indica*].

[†] See a partial translation of it in I. St., ii. 78-100. [It is published in the complete edition of the Taitt. Aranyaka, with Sayana's commentary thereon (excepting books

cited in the Sama-Sútras two which must probably be considered as belonging to the Black Yajus, viz., the Bháilamins and the Satyayanins. The Brahmana of the Bhallaring is quoted by the scholiast on Panini, probably following the Mahabhashya,08 as one of the 'old' Brahmanas: we find it mentioned in the Brihaddevatá; Suresvaráchárya also, and even Sayana himself, quote passages from the Bhállavisruti. A passage supposed to be borrowed from the Bhallavi-Upanishad is adduced by the sect of the Madhavas in support of the correctness of their (Dvaita) belief (As. Res., xvi. 104). That the Bhállavins belong to the Black Yajus is, however, still uncertain, I only conclude so at present from the fact that Bhallaveva is the name of a teacher specially attacked and censured in the Brahmana of the White Yajus. As to the Satuduanins. whose Brahmana is also reckoned among the 'old' ones by the scholiast on Panini,90 and is frequently quoted, especially by Sayana, it is pretty certain that they belong to the Black Yajus, as it is so stated in the Charanavvuha, a modern index of the different schools of the Vedas and moreover, a teacher named Sátyáyani is twice mentioned in the Brahmana of the White Yajus The special regard paid to them in the Sama-Sutras, and which, to judge from the quotations, they themselves paid to the Saman, is probably to be explained by the peculiar connection (itself still obscure) which we find elsewhere also between the

schools of the Black Yajus and those of the Saman, 100 Thus, the Kathas are mentioned along with the Saman schools

sy This is not en, for in the Bladshya to the particular starts of Pán (17). The Bladshya to the particular starts of Pán (17). The Bladshya are not necessary to the Pán (17) the Bladshya are not necessary to the Pán (17) the

Brahmanas proclaimed by Satya-

¹⁰⁰ See on this I. St, ni. 473, xiii.

of the Kálápas and Kauthumas; and along with the latter the Laukákshas also. As to the Śakayanins, Sayakayanins. Kálabavins, and Sálankáyanins, 101 with whom, as with the Śatyayanins, we are only acquainted through quotations, it is altogether uncertain whether they belong to the Black Yajus or not. The Chhagalins, whose name seems to be borne by a tolerably ancient Upanishad in Anguetil's Oupnekhat, are stated in the Charanavyúha 102 to form a school of the Black Yajus (according to Pánini, iv. 3. 109, they are called Chhágaleyins): the same is there said of The latter gave their name to an the Svetásvataras. Upanishad composed in a metrical form, and called at its close the work of a Śvetáśvatara: in which the Sámkhya doctrine of the two primeval principles is mixed up with the Yoga doctrine of one Lord, a strange misuse being here made of wholly irrelevant passages of the Samhitá, . &c., of the Yajus; and upon this rests its sole claim to be connected with the latter. Kapila, the originator of the Sámkhya system, appears in it raised to divine dignity itself, and it evidently belongs to a very late period; for though several passages from it are quoted in the Brahma-Sútra of Bádaráyana (from which its priority to the latter at least would appear to follow), they may just as well have been borrowed from the common source, the Yajus. It is, at all events, a good deal older than Samkara, since he regarded it as Śruti, and commented upon it. It has recently been published, together with this commentary,* by Dr. Roer, in the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. vii.; see also Ind. Stud., i. 420, ff.—The Maitráyana Upanishad at least bears a more ancient name, and might perhaps be connected

* They are mentioned in the tenth book of the Brahmana of the White Yajus [see also Káthaka 22. 7, I. St., iii. 472]; as is also Sáyaká-

tion to this extent, that the Charanavyúha does not know the name. Chhagalin at all (which is mentioned by Panini alone), but speaks only of Chhageyas or Chhagaleyas; see I. St., iii. 258; Müller, A. S. L., p. 370. On Anquetil's 'Tschakli' Upanishad see now I. St., ix. 42-46.

* Distinguished by a great num-

ber of sometimes tolerably long quotations from the Puranas, &c. [Roer's translation was published in

the Bibl. Ind., vol. xv.]

¹⁰⁻ The Śálankáyanas are ranked as Bráhmanas among the Váhíkas in the Calcutta scholium to Pán. v. 3. 114 (bháshyc na vyákhyátam). Vyása's mother, Satyavatí, is called Şalankayanaja, and Panini himself Śalanki; see I. St., xiii. 375, 395, 428, 429.

102 This statement needs correc-

with the above-mentioned Maitra (Brahmana). Its text, however, both in language and contents, shows that, compared with the latter, it is of a very modern date. At present, unfortunately, I have at my command only the four first prapathakas, and these in a very incorrect form, -whereas in Anquetil's translation, the Upanishad consists of twenty chapters,-yet even these are sufficient clearly to determine the character of the work. King Brihadratha, who, penetrated by the nothingness of earthly things, resigned the sovereignty into the hands of his son, and devoted himself to contemplation, is there instructed by Sákávanya (see gana 'Kuñja') upon the relation of the átman (soul) to the world; Śakayanya communicates to him what Maitreya had said upon this subject, who in his turn had only repeated the instruction given to the Balakhilyas by Prajápatı himself. The doctrine in question is thus derived at third hand only, and we have to recognise in this tradition a consciousness of the late origin of this form of it. This late origin manifests itself externally also in the fact that

sources are quoted with the doctrine, introduced apy uktam," "atre 'me

Kautstyanastutih." The ideas themselves are quite upon a level with those of the fully developed Samkhya doctrine, and the language is completely marked off from the

to the commentary, on the one hand, the two last books are to be considered as khilas, and on the other, the whole Upanishad belongs to a purrakinda, in four books, of ritual purport, by which most likely

I obtained them quite recently, in transcript, through the kindness of Baron d'Eckstein, of Paris, to-

ranya often mentsoned by Colebrooke. [It is really so; and that portion has since been published, together with the Upanishad in full, by Cowell, in his edition of the Mattr. Upanished, in seven propaficates, with Idmattriaks commentary and an English translation, in the BBA, Ind. (1862-70). According

by Leastern shows manniou deviations from the other text; its original has unfortunately not been discovered yet]

⁺ Brahman, Rudra, and Vishnu represent respectively the Sattva, the Tamas, and the Rajas elements of Prapipatt.

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present, the doctrine of this Upanishad stands in close connection with the opinions of the Buddhists, ³⁰⁵ although from its Brahmanical origin it is naturally altogether free from the dogma and mythology peculiar to Buddhism. We may here also notice, especially, the contempt for writing (grantha) exhibited in one of the ślokas* quoted in corroboration.

Neither the Chhagalins, nor the Śvetáśvataras, nor the Maitráyanjyas are mentioned in the Sútras of the other Vedas, or in similar works, as schools of the Black Yajus; still, we must certainly ascribe to the last mentioned a very active share in its development, and the names Maitreva and Maitreyí at least are not unfrequently

quoted in the Brahmanas.

In the case of the Sútras, too, belonging to the Black Yajus, the large number of different schools is very striking. Although, as in the case of the Brahmanas, we only know the greater part of them through quotations, there is reason to expect, not only that the remarkably rich collection of the India House (with which I am only very superficially acquainted) will be found to contain many treasures in this department, but also that many of them will yet be recovered in India itself. The Berlin collection does not contain a single one. In the first place, as to the Srauta-Sútras, my only knowledge of the Kaṭha-Sūtra, † the Manu-Sūtra, the Matura-Sūtra and the Laugākshi-Sūtra is derived from the commentaires on the Kāṭya-Sūtra of the White Yajus; the second, however, 100 stands in the catalogue of the Fort-William col-

103 Bina's Harshacharitra informs

gether with some others in precisely the same form in the Americavindu- (or Brahmavindu-) Upavishad [Though it may be very doubtful

whether the word grantha ought really a priors and for the eather period to be understood of written texts (cf. I. St., xin. 476), yet in this verse, at any rate, a different interpretation is hardly possible; see below.]

† Laugakshi and the 'Lamaldyaninam Brahmanam' are said to be quoted therein.

¹⁰⁶ On this, as well as on the contents and the division of the work, see my remarks in I. St. v. 13-16, in accordance with communications received from Professor Cowell; cf. also Haug, Vid.d., ix, 175 A Mánava

us of a Mutriyanjya Diyikara who embraced the Muddhit creed; and llhau Dâjt (Journat Bomboy Branch, R. A. S., x 49) adds that even now Matr. Brahmans live near Bhadghon at the fook of the Vindbya, with at the fook of the Vindbya, with in common; 'the reason may have been the carly Buddhust tendencies of many of them.'
"Witch, by the way, recurs to-

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¹³⁹ Bána's Harshachartra informs us of a Maitryant's Drukara who embraced the Buddhit creed; and Bhan Dài; (Journal Bombay Branch R. A. S., x. 40) sids that even now Maitr Brahmans Ivo near Bhadgaion at the foot of the Vindhya, with whom other Brahmans do not eat in common; "the reason may have been the early Buddhit tendencies of many of them."

Which, by the way, recurs together with some others in precisely the same form in the Anritavindu- (or Brahmavindu-) Upanishad [Though it may be very doubtful

¹⁶⁰ On this, as well as on the contents and the division of the work, see my remarks in I. St. v. 13-16, in accordance with communications received from Professor Cowell; cf. also Haug, thid., ix. 175. A Minava

lection, and of the last, whose author is cited in the Katha-Sútra, as well as in the Kátíva-Sútra, there is, it appears, a copy in Vienna. Mahádeva, a commentator of the Kalpa-Sútra of Satváshádha Hiranyakesi, when enumerating the Taittiriva-Sútras in successive order in his introduction, leaves out these four altogether, and names at the head of his list the Sútra of Baudháyana as the: oldest, then that of Bháradvája, next that of Anastamba, next that of Hiranyakeśi himself, and finally two names not otherwise mentioned in this connection, Vadhana and Vaikhánasa, the former of which is perhaps a corrupted form. Of these names, Bháradvája is the only one to be found in Vedic works; it appears in the Bráhmana of the White Yajus, especially in the supplements to the Vrihad-Aranyaka (where several persons of this name are mentioned), in the Kátíva-Sútra of the same Yajus, in the Prátisákhva-Sútra of the Black Yajus, and in Pánini. Though the name is a patronymic, vet it is possible that these last citations refer to one and the same person, in which case he must at the same time be regarded as the founder of a grammatical school, that of the Bháradvájívas. As yet, I have seen nothing of his Sútra, and am acquainted with it only through quotations. According to a statement by the Mahadeva just mentioned, it treats of the oblation to the Manes, in two prasnas, and therefore shares with the rest of the Sútras this designation of the sections, which is peculiar to the Black Yajus. 107 The Sútra of Apastamba * is found in the Library of the India House, and a part of it in Paris also. Commentaries on it by

Śrauta-Sútra is also cited in Bühler's Catalogue of MSS. from Gujarát, i. 188 (1871); it is in 322 foll. The manuscript edited in facsimile by Goldstücker under the title, 'Mānara Kalpa-Sútra, being a portion of this ancient work on Vaidik rites, together with the Commentary of Kumárilasvámin' (1861), gives but little of the text, the commentary quoting only the first words of the passages commented upon; whether the concluding words, 'Kumárelabháshyam samáplam,' really indicate that

Kumárilasvámin was the author of the commentary seems still doubtful.

107 The Bháradvájíya-Sútra has now been discovered by Bühler; see his Catal. of MSS. from Guj., i. 186 (212 foll.); the Vaikhánasa-Sútra is also quoted, ib. i. 190 (292 foll.); see also Haug in I. St., ix. 175.

* According to the quotations, the Vajasaneyaka, Bahvricha-Brahmana, and Satyayanaka are frequently men-

tioned therein.

Dhúrtasvámin and Tálavrintanivásin are mentioned, 103 also one on the Sútra of Baudháyana by Kapardisvámin. 105 The work of Satyáshádha contains, according to Mahádeva's statement, 105 twenty-seven praśnas, whose contents agree pretty closely with the order followed in the Kátíya-Sútra; only the last nine form an exception, and are quite peculiar to it. The nineteenth and twentieth praśnas refer to domestic ceremonies, which usually find a place in the Grihya- and Smárta-Sútras. In the twenty-first, genealogical accounts and lists are contained; as also m a praśna of the Baudháyana-Sútra.*

Still scantier is the information we possess upon the Grihya-Sútras of the Black Yajus The Káthaka Grihya-Sútra is known to me only through quotations, as are also the Sútras of Baudháyana (extant in the Fort-William

108 On the Apastamba-Śrauta-Sútra and the commentaries belonging to it, by Dhurtasv., Kapardisvámin, Rudradatta, Gurudevasvámin, Karavindasvámin, Tálav., Ahobalasúri (Adabila in Buhler, L. c., p. 150, who also mentions a Nrismha, p. 152), and others, see Burnell in his Catalogue, pp. 18-24, and in the Indian Antiquary, 1 5, 6. According to this the work consists of thirty prasnas : the first twenty-three treat of the eacrificial rites in essentially the same order (from dariapurnamásau to sattráyanam) as in Hiranvakesi, whose Sutra generally is almost identical with that of Anastamba; see Buhler's preface to the Ap. Dharma-Sutra, p. 6; the 24th praina contains the general rules, parishdehds, edited by M. Muller in Z. D. M. G., 1x. (1855), a pravarakhanda and a hautraka ; prašnas 25-27 contain the Gribya-Sutra ; prašnas 28, 29, the Dharma-Sútra, edited by Buhler (1868); and finally, praina 30, the Sulva-Sutra (sulra, 'measuring cord ').

18 On the Baulháyana-Sútra compare likewise Burnell's Cutalopie, pp. 24-30. Bhavasrámin, who amongst others commented it, is mentioned by Bhatţa Bháskara, and is consequently placed by Burnell (n. 26) in

the eighth century. According to Kielhorn, Catalogue of S MSS. in the South Division of the Bombay Pres. p. 8. there exists a commentary on it by Siyana also, for whom. indeed, it constituted the special text-book of the Yains school to which he belonged, see Burnell, Vansa-Brdhmana, pp. 1x -xix. Itt Buhler's Catalogue of MSS, from Guj , i. 182, 184, Anantadeva, Navahasta, and Sesha are also quoted as scholiasts. The exact compass of the entire work is not yet ascertained; the Baudhayana - Dharma - Sútra, which, according to Bubler, Digest of Hindu Law, 1. p. xx1 (1867), forms part of the Srauta-Sútra, as in the case of Apastamba and Hiranyakeśi, was commented by Govindasvámin ; see Burnell, p 35.

110 Mátridatta and Váñcheávara (*)

Mátridatta and Váñcheávara (*) are also mentioned as commentators; see Kielhorn, l. c., p. 10.

"Such lists are also found in Asvaldyana's work, at the end, though only in brief: for the Kütlya-Sütra, a Parsishta comes in. [Prainar 26, 27, of Hiranyake's treat of dharmas, so, that here also, as in the case of Apast, and Baudh, the Dharma-Sütra forms part of the Smuta-Sütra.] collection), of Bháradvája, and of Satyáshádha, or Hiran-yakeśi, unless in this latter case only the corresponding praśnas of the Kalpa-Sútra are intended. III - I have myself only glanced through a Paddhati of the Grihya-Sútra of the Maitráyaníya school, which treats of the usual subject (the sixteen samskáras, or sacraments). I conclude that there must also have been a Grihya-Sútra III of the Mánava school, from the existence of the Code bearing that name, III just as the Codes ascribed to Atri, Ápastamba, Chhágaleya, Baudháyana, Laugákshi, and Sátyáyana are probably to be traced to the schools of the same name belonging to the Black Yajus, that is to say, to their Grihya-Sútras. III

Lastly, the Prátisákhya-Sútra has still to be mentioned as a Sútra of the Black Yajus. The only manuscript with which I am acquainted unfortunately only begins at the fourth section of the first of the two prasnas. This work is of special significance from the number of very peculiar names of teachers * mentioned in it: as Atreya, Kaundinya (once by the title of Sthavira), and Bháradvája, whom we know already; also Válmíki, a name which in this connection is especially surprising; and further Agnivesya, Agniveśyáyana, Paushkarasádi, and others. The two last names, as well as that of Kaundinya, are mentioned in Buddhist writings as the names either of pupils or of contemporaries of Buddha, and Paushkarasadi is also cited in the várttikas to Pánini by Kátyáyana, their author. Again, the allusion occurring here for the first time to the Mímánsakas and Taittiríyakas deserves to be remarked:

stamba- and Bháradvája-Grihya, see Burnell, Catalogue, pp. 30-33. The sections of two 'prayogas,' of both texts, relating to birth ceremonial, have been edited by Speijer in his book De Ceremonia apud Indos quæ rocatur játakarma (Leyden, 1872).

¹¹² It is actually extant; see Bühler, Catalogue, i. 188 (So foll.), and Kielhorn, l. c., p. 10 (fragment).

¹¹³ Johantgen in his valuable tract Ueber das Gesetzbuch des Manu (1863), p. 109, ff., has, from the geographical data in Manu, ii. 17, ff., fixed the territory between the Dri-

shadvatí and Sarasvatí as the proper home of the Manavas. This appears somewhat too strict. At any rate, the statements as to the extent of the Madhyadesa which are found in the Pratijná-Parisishta of the White Yajus point us for the latter more to the east; see my essay Ueber das Pratijná-Sútra (1872), pp. 101, 105.

Pratijna-Sutra (1872), pp. 101, 105.

114 See Johäntgen, l. c., p. 108,

rog.

* Their number is twenty; see
Roth, Zur Litt. und Gesch., pp. 65,

⁺ See I. St., i. 441 not. [xiii. 387, ff., 418].

also the contradistinction, found at the close of the work, of *Chhandas* and *Dháshá, i.e.*, of Vedic and ordinary language. The work appears also to extend to a portion of the Aranyaka of the Black Yajus; whether to the whole cannot yet be ascertained, and is scarcely probable. 10

In conclusion. I have to notice the two Anukramanis already mentioned, the one belonging to the Atreya school, the other to the Charayaniya school of the Kathaka. The former 117 deals almost exclusively with the contents of the several sections, which it gives in their order. It consists of two parts. The first, which is in prose, is a mere nomenclature; the second, in thirty-four blokas, is little more. It, however, gives a few particulars besides as to the transmission of the text. To it is annexed a commentary upon both parts, which names each section, together with its opening words and extent. The Anukramani of the Kathaka enters but little into the contents, it limits itself, on the contrary, to giving the Rishis of the various sections as well as of the separate verses; and here, in the case of the pieces taken from the Rik, it not unfrequently exhibits considerable divergence from the statements given in the Anukramani of the latter, citing, in particular, a number of entirely new names According to the concluding statement, it is the work of Atri, who imparted it to Laugákshi.

We now turn to the White Yapus.

With regard, in the first place, to the name itself, it probably refers, as has been already remarked, to the fact that the sacrificial formulas are here separated from their

tion to a sdragrata patha.

¹¹⁵ In the passage in question (xxiv. 5), 'chhandobhdsha' means rather 'the Veda language;' see Whitney, p. 417.

^{114.} We have now an excellent edition of the work by Whitney, Journal Am Or. Soc, ix. (1871), text, translation, and notes, together with a commentary called Triblishyarating, by an anonymous author for 1s his name Kattikeyal), a compilation from three older commentaries by Aireya, Mishishya, and Vararuch,—No reterence to the Taitt,

Ar. or Taitt. Brahm is made in the text itself; on the contrary, it confines itself exclusively to the Taitt, S The commentary, however, in some few instances goes beyond the T. S.; see Whitney's special discussions.

sion of the points here involved, pp.
422-426; cf. also I St, iv. 76-79.

17 See I. St., in. 373-401, xm.
350-357, and the similar statements
from Bhatta Rhafskara Mifra in Burnell's Catalogue, p. 14. The Atreyt
text here appears in a special rela-

ritual basis and dogmatical explanation, and that we have here a systematic and orderly distribution of the matter so confusedly mixed up in the Black Yajus. This is the way in which the expression śukláni yajúński is explained by the commentator Dviveda Ganga, in the only passage where up till now it has been found in this sense, namely, in the last supplement added to the Vrihad-Aranyaka of the White Yajus. I say in the only passage, for though it appears once under the form sukrayajúnski, in the Áranyaka of the Black Yajus (5. 10), it has hardly the same general meaning there, but probably refers, on the contrary, to the fourth and fifth books of that Aranyaka itself. For in the Anukramani of the Atreva school these books bear the name śukriyakánda, because referring to expiatory ceremonies; and this name sukriya, 'expiating' [probably rather 'illuminating'?] belongs also to the corresponding parts of the Samhita of the White Yajus, and even to the samans employed at these particular sacrifices.

Another name of the White Yajus is derived from the surname Vájasaneya, which is given to Yájnavalkya, the teacher who is recognised as its author, in the supplement to the Vṛihad-Áraṇyaka, just mentioned. Mahídhara, at the commencement of his commentary on the Samhitá of the White Yajus, explains Vájasaneya as a patronymic, "the son of Vájasani." Whether this be correct, or whether the word vájasani is to be taken as an appellative, it at any rate signifies * "the giver of food," and refers to the chief object lying at the root of all sacrificial ceremonies, the obtaining of the necessary food from the gods whom the sacrifices are to propitiate. To this is also to be traced the name vájin, "having food," by which the theologians of the White Yajus are occasionally distinguished. Now, from Vájasaneya are derived two forms of words by which the Samhitá and Bráhmana of the White Yajus are found

by 'food' (anna) is probably purely a scholastic one.

^{*} In Mahá-Bhárata, xii. 1507, the word is an epithet of Kṛishṇa. [Here also it is explained as above; for the Rik, however, according to the St. Petersburg Dictionary, we have to assign to it the méaning of 'procuring courage or strength, victorious, gaining booty or prize.' The explanation of the word vája

¹¹⁸ According to another explanation, this is because the Sun as Horse revealed to Yajnavalkya the ayatayamasaminani yajunshi; see Vishnu-Purana, iii. 5: 28; 'swift, courageous, horse,' are the fundamental meanings of the word.'

cited, namely, Vájasaneyaka, first used in the Taittiriya-Sútra of Ápastamba and the Kútíya-Sútra of the White Yajus itself, and Vájasaneynnas,* i.e., those who study the two works in question, first used in the Anupada-Sútra of the Súmaveda.

In the White Yajus we find, what does not occur in the case of any other Veda, that Samhitá and Bráhmana have been handed down in their entirety in two distinct recensions; and thus we obtain a measure for the mutual relations of such schools generally. These two recensions agree almost entirely in their contents, as also in the distribution of them; in the latter respect, however, there are many, although slight, discrepancies. The chief difference consists partly in actual variants in the sacrificial formulas, as in the Brahmana, and partly in orthographic or orthoepic neculiarities. One of these recensions bears the name of the Kánras, the other that of the Mádhyamdinas, names which have not yet been found in the Sútras or similar writings. The only exception is the Prátišákhya-Sútra of the White Yajus itself, where there is mention both of a Kánva and of the Mádhyamdinas. In the supplement to the Vrihad-Aranyaka again, in the lists of teachers, a Kánvíputra (vi. 5 i) and a Mádhyamdináyana (iv. 6 2) at least are mentioned, although only in the Kanva recension, not in the other; the former being cited among the latest, the latter among the more recent members of the respec-The question now arises whether the two recensions are to be regarded as contemporary, or if one is older than the other. It is possible to adopt the latter view, and to consider the Kanva school as the older one. For not only is Kanva the name of one of the ancient Rishi families of the Rigveda—and with the Rigveda this recension agrees in the peculiar notation of the cerebral d by l-but the remaining literature of the White Yajus appears to connect itself rather with the school of the Madhyamdinas. However this may be,119 we cannot, at.

^{*} Occurs in the gana 'Saunala' [The Vajasaneyaka is also quoted by Latyayana.]

119 The Middhyamdinas are not

mentioned in Patamiah's Mahabhasha, but the Kanvas, the Kan-

vaka, a yellow (piñgala) Kánva, and a Kánvyáyana, and also their pupils, are mentioned; see I. St., xiii 417, 444. The school of the Kanvas Sauterarads is mentioned in the Káttiska, see on this I. St., iii. 475.

must be supplied thereto in the proper place. The ten following adhyáyas (xxx.-xxxix.) contain the formulas for entirely new sacrificial ceremonies, viz., the nurusha-medha (human sacrifice), 123 the sarra-medha (universal sacrifice). the pitri-medha (oblation to the Manes), and the pravaraga (purificatory sacrifice).121 The last adhyáya, finally, has no sort of direct reference to the sacrificial ceremonial. It is also regarded as an Upanishad,* and is professedly designed to fix the proper mean between those exclusively engaged in sacrificial acts and those entirely neglecting them. It belongs, at all events, to a very advanced stage of speculation, as it assumes a Lord (is) of the universe. 1—Independently of the above-mentioned external testimony to the later origin of these fifteen adhydyas, their posteriority is sufficiently proved by the relation in which they stand both to the Black Yajus and to their own Brahmana, as well as by the data they themselves contain. In the Taittirfya-Samhitá only those formulas appear which are found in the first eighteen adhyáyas, together with a few of the mantras belonging to the horse sacrifice; the remainder of the latter, together with the mantras belonging to the sautrámaniand the human sacrifice, are only treated of in the Taittiriya-Bráhmana; and those for the universal and the purificatory sacrifices, as well as those for oblations to the Manes, only in the Taittiriya-Áranyaka. In like manner, the first eighteen adhydyas are cited in full, and explained word by word in the first nine books of the Brahmana of the White Yajus; but only a few of the formulas for the sau-trámaní, the horse sacrifice, human sacrifice, universal

khya.

¹²³ See my essay, Weber Menschenopfer bei den Indern der vedischen Zeit, in I. Str., i. 54, ff.

¹²⁴ This translation of the word pravargya is not a literal one (for this see the St. Petersburg Dict., under root varj with prep. pra), but is borrowed from the sense and purpose of the ceremony in question; the latter is, according to Haug on Ait. Brahm., i. 18, p. 42, "a preparatory rite intended for providing the sacrificer with a heavenly body, with which alone he is permitted to enter the residence of the gods."

^{*} Other parts, too, of the Vájas. S. have in later times been looked upon as Upanishads; for example, the sixteenth book (Satarudriya), the thirty-first (Purushasukta), thirty-second (Tadeva), and the beginning of the thirty-fourth book (Sivasamkalpa).

[†] According to Mahidhara's commentary, its polemic is directed partially against the Bauddhas, that is, probably, against the doctrines which afterwards were called Sam-

sacrifice, and oblation to the Manes (xix-xxxv.) are cited in the twelfth and thirteenth books, and that for the most part only by their initial words, or even merely by the initial words of the anurakas, without any port of explanation; and it is only the three last adhygung but one (xxxvii - xxxix) which are again explained word by word, in the beginning of the fourteenth look. In the case of the mantras, but slightly referred to by their initial words, explanation seems to have been entisilered concessary, probably because they were till generally unicationi; we have, therefore, of course, so currence that the winer of the Brildmans had them him the in the from which they bear at present. At to these manifest on the outpury, which are not notinel o Lite ilea sagere inel tha they may me yet iore deser incorporated hito the Suplicia sext estant when the latinature was composed. They are, roughly typicin al eve links. First, there are chiefale bosinsel. Fin the Mic and to be retired by the Mone, which Newton (Mally specific), comin not no de nocaines ou Ne Topu a all and af viole in it possible clan coe done monthing live when no notice, it is the restor was a lemilit is in vii the medil from it the However, in in a remier diametical una competanta utigage superior Commity These are presided if a delimenta The violence and Inverse absenced to a time deliver Ting seek is in anglinging it now is greenling the incomificacionally of communical of a part was one process in the induced allying the incommended in the firm of 1 are of the ordinal in is the tief in the little engine in the institution. er filter im Im gemen gemein gefenteren meg lag imr errit genite gebet. to be the second transfer with the transfers of the The west of the second of the the training which are to the first that the first the thirty the Multi- in territor restrict to so at the territor to the The forestern But the mer mercen of the والمنظمة والمنطقة المنطقة المن المراق المنظم المنظ المنظم المنظ المنظم المنظم

are to be sought more especially in the thirtieth and thirty-ninth adhydyas, as compared with the sixteenth. It is, of course, only the Yajus portions proper which can here be adduced, and not the verses borrowed from the Rik-Samhitá, which naturally prove nothing in this connection. At most they can only yield a sort of measure for the time of their incorporation into the Yajus, in so far as they may be taken from the latest portions of the Rik, in which case the existence of these at that period would necessarily be presupposed. The data referred to consist in two facts. First, whereas in the sixteenth book Rudra, as the god of the blazing fire, is endowed with a large number of the epithets subsequently applied to Siva, two very significant epithets are here wanting which are applied to him in the thirtyninth book, viz., isana and mahadeva, names probably indicating some kind of sectarian worship (see above, p. 45). Secondly, the number of the mixed castes given in the thirtieth is much higher than that given in the sixteenth book. Those mentioned in the former can hardly all have been in existence at the time of the latter, or we should surely have found others specified besides those that are actually mentioned.

Of the forty books of the Samhitá, the sixteenth and thirtieth are those which bear most distinctly the stamp of the time to which they belong. The sixteenth book, on which, in its Taittiriya form, the honour was afterwards bestowed of being regarded as an Upanishad, and as the principal book of the Siva sects, treats of the propitiation of Rudra; and (see I. St., ii. 22, 24-26) by its enumeration and distinction of the many different kinds of thieves, robbers, murderers, night-brawlers, and highwaymen, his supposed servants, reveals to us a time of insecurity and violence: its mention, too, of various mixed castes indicates that the Indian caste system and polity were already fully developed. Now as, in the nature of things, these were not established without vigorous opposition from those who were thrust down into the lower castes, and as this opposition must have manifested itself chiefly in . feuds, open or secret, with their oppressors, I am inclined to suppose that this Rudra book dates from the time of these secret feuds on the part of the conquered aborigines, as well as of the Vrátyas or unbrahmanised Aryans, after

their open resistance had been more or less crushed. 123 At such a time, the worship of a god who passes as the prosuch a time, the worship of a god who passes as the pro-

dedicated at the purusha-medha, gives the names or most of the Indian mixed castes, whence we may at any rate conclude that the complete consolidation of the Brahmanical polity had then been effected. Some of the names here given are of peculiar interest. So, for example, the mágadha, who is dedicated in v. 5 "atikrushtáya." The question arises, What is to be understood by magadha? If we take atikrushta in the sense of "great noise," the most obvious interpretation of magadha is to understand it, with Mahidhara, in its epic sense, as signifying a minstrel,* son of a Vaisya by a Kshatriya. This agrees excellently with the dedications immediately following (in v. 6), of the súta to the dance, and of the śailúsha to song, though not so well, it must be admitted, with the dedications immediately preceding, of the kilba (eunuch), the ayoru (gambler?), and the puischalu (harlot). The mágadha again appears in their company in v. 22,† and they cannot be said to throw the best light upon his moral character, a circumstance which is certainly surprising, considering the position held by this caste in the epic; though, on the other hand, in India also, musicians, dancers, and singers (sailúshas) have not at any time enjoyed the best reputation. But another interpretation of the word magadha is possible. In the fifteenth, the

sides, an express condition is laid down that the four must belong neither to the Sadra nor to the Brithman caste. [By ayogā may also be meant an unchaste woman;

see I. Str , i. 761

¹² By the Buddhits author Yacomitra, scholars of the Abhithmenakofa, the Satarudirya is etated to be a work, by Yyfsa aganus Buddhitm, whence, however, we have probably to conclude only that it passed for, and, was used say, epiricipal support for Sira work apprincipal support for Sira work propectally in its detached form as a sperate Upanabad; see Burnouf, Introduction & Plutoire du Buddh. suma, p. 563; I. S., in. 22.

^{*} How he comes by this name 14, it is true, not clear.

t Here, however, the kitara is put instead of the ayogu, and be-

[‡] Skyans, commenting on the corresponding passage of the Taitt Brühmans (in. 4. 1), explains the word atthrush(dya by attinializaderdya, 'dedicated to the very Blameworthy as his deity" [in Rijendra Lish Bitra's edition, p. 447]; this 'eery Blameworthy,' it is true, with very Blameworthy,' it is true.

might also refer to the bad moral reputation of the minstrels.

so-called Vrátya book* of the Atharva-Samhitá, the Vrátya (i.e., the Indian living outside of the pale of Brahmanism) is brought into very special relation to the punschalf and the manadha: faith is called his harlot, the mitra (friend?) his magadha; and similarly the dawn, the earth (?), the lightning his harlots, the mantra (formula), hasa (scorn?), the thunder his magadhas. Owing to the obscurity of the Vrátya book, the proper meaning of this passage is not altogether clear, and it is possible, therefore, that here also the dissolute minstrel might be intended. Still the connection set forth in the Sama-Sútras of Latyayana and Dráhvávana, as well as in the corresponding passage of the Kativa-Sutra between the Vratyas and the magadhadcsiya brahmabandhu, 126 and the hatred with which the Magadhas are elsewhere (see Roth, p. 38) spoken of in the Atharva-Samhitá, both lead us to interpret the mágadha of the Vrátya book as an heretical teacher. For the passages, also, which we are more immediately discussing, this interpretation vies with the one already given; and it seems, in particular, to be favoured by the express direction in v. 22, that "the magadha, the harlot, the gambler, and the eunuch" must neither be Súdras nor Brahmans,—an injunction which would be entirely superfluous for the maga-. dha at least, supposing him to represent a mixed caste, but which is quite appropriate if the word signifies "a native of the country Magadha." If we adopt this latter interpretation, it follows that heretical (i.e., Buddhist) opinions must have existed in Magadha at the time of the composition of this thirtieth adhyáya. Meanwhile, however, the question which of these two interpretations is the better one remains, of course, unsolved. The mention of the nakshatradarśa, "star-gazer," in v. 10, and of the

126 In the very same way, the

^{*} Translated by Aufrecht, I. St., i. 130, ff. [The St. Petersburg Dict., s. v., considers 'the praise of the Vratya in Ath. xv. as an idealising of the devout vagrant or mendicant (parirrajaka, &c.);' the fact of his being specially connected with the punischall and the magadha remains, nevertheless, very strange, and even with this interpretation leads us to surmise suggestions of Buddhism.]

Magadha—explained by Sáyana as Magadhadcsotpanno brahmachári—is contemptuously introduced by the Sútrakára (probably Baudháyana?) to T. S., vii. 5. 9. 4, in association with a puńschali; see I. St., xii. 330.—That there were good Brahmans also in Magadha appears from the name Magadhavási, which is given to Prátibodhíputra, the second son of Hrasva Mándúkeya, in Sánkh. Ár., vii. 14.

ganaka. "calculator," in v. 20, permits us, at all events, to conclude that astronomical, ie., astrological, science was then actively pursued It is to it that, according to Mahidhara at least, the "questions" repeatedly mentioned in v. 10 relate, although Sayana, perhaps more correctly, thinks that they refer to the usual disputations of the Brahmans. The existence, too, of the so-called Vedic quinquennial cycle is apparent from the fact that in v. 15 (only in xxvii. 45 besides) the five names of its years are enumerated; and this supposes no inconsiderable proficiency in astronomical observation 127-A barren wife is dedicated in v. 15 to the Atharvans, by which term Sayana understands the imprecatory and magical formulas bearing the name Atharvan; to which, therefore, one of their intended effects, barrenness, is here dedicated. If this be the correct explanation, it 'necessarily follows that Atharvan-songs existed at the time of the thirtieth book .- The names of the three dice in v. 18 (krita, tretá, and dvápara) are explained by Sayana, commenting on the corresponding passage of the Taittiriya-Brahmana, as the names of the epic yugas, which are identical with these-a supposition which will not hold good here, though it may, perhaps, in the case of the Taittiriya-Brahmana *- The hostile reference to the Charakáchárya in v. 18 has already been touched pon (p. 87).123

In the earlier books there are two passages in particular the rive an indication of the period from which they. The first of these exists only in the Kanyar ecentric treats of the saciifice at the consecration of

king. The text in the Middhyamdina recension (ix. 40, x. 18) runs as follows: "This is your king, O ye So and So," where, instead of the name of the people, only the indefinite pronoun amt is used; whereas in the Kánya

¹st Since signature is here mentioned wrice, at the beginning and at the end, possibly we have been to do with a sexualid cycle even (cf. T. Br., iii. 10. 4. 1); see my paper, De vatichen Mackricher von den Nathatra, ii. 298 (1862). The earliest allusion to the quiquennial yuga occurs in the Rik itself, iii. 55, 18 (i. 25, 8).

Where, moreover, the fourth name, kali, is found, instead of the dskanda given here [see I. Str., i. 82]

^{82]}is Siyana on T. Dr., iii. 4.16, p.
361, explains (!) the word by 'teacher
of the art of dancing on the point
of a bamboo;' but the variduarin
is introduced separately in v. 21 (T.
Dr., iii. 4.17).

recension we read (xi. 3. 3, 6. 3): "This is your king, O ye. Kurus, O ye Panchalas." The second passage occurs in connection with the horse sacrifice (xxiii. 18). The mahish, or principal wife of the king, performing this sacrifice. must, in order to obtain a son, pass the night by the side of the horse that has been immolated, placing its śiśna on her upastha; with her fellow-wives, who are forced to accompany her, she pours forth her sorrow in this lament: "O Ambá, O Ambiká, O Ambáliká, no one takes me (by force to the horse); (but if I go not of myself), the (spiteful) horse will lie with (another, as) the (wicked) Subhadrá who dwells in Kámpíla."† Kámpíla is a town in the country of the Pañchálas. Subhadrá, therefore, would seem to be the wife of the king of that district, I and the benefits of the asvamedha sacrifice are supposed to accrue to them, unless the mahishi consents voluntarily to give herself up to this revolting ceremony. are justified in regarding the mahishi as the consort of a king of the Kurus,—and the names Ambiká and Ambáliká actually appear in this connection in the Mahá-Bhárata, to wit, as the names of the mothers of Dhritaráshtra and Pándu,—we might then with probability infer that there existed a hostile, jealous feeling on the part of the Kurus towards the Panchalas, a feeling which was possibly at that time only smouldering, but which in the epic legend of the Mahá-Bhárata we find had burst out into the flame of open warfare. However this may be, the allusion to Kámpíla at all events betrays that the verse, or even the whole book (as well as the correspond-

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ing passages of the Taitt. Bráhmana), originated in the region of the Panchalas; and this inference holds good also for the eleventh book of the Kanva recension.129 We might further adduce in proof of it the use of the word ariuna in the Madhyamdina, and of phalguna in the. Kánva recension, in a formula 130 relating to the sacrifice at the consecration of the king (x. 21): "To obtain intrepidity, to obtain food(, I, the offerer, ascend) thee(, O chariot.) I, the inviolate Arjuna (Phalguna)," i.e., Indra, Indra-like. For although we must take both these words in this latter sense, and not as proper names (see I. St., i. 190), yet, at any rate, some connection must be assumed between this use and the later one, where they appear as the appellation of the thief hero of the Pandus (or Panchalas?); and this connection consists in the fact that the legend specially applied these names of Indra * to that hero of the Pandus (or Panchalas?) who was preeminently regarded by it as an incarnation of Indra,

Lastly, as regards the critical relation of the richas incorporated into the Yajus, I have to observe, that in general the two recensions of the Kánvas and of the Mádhyamdinas always agree with each other in this particular, and that their differences refer, rather, to the Yajus-portions. One half of the Yajianneyi-Samhitá consists of richas, or verses; the other of yajiāshi, i.e., formulas in prose, a measured prose, too, which rises now and then to a true rhythmical swing. The greater number of these richas

¹⁰ In T. S., vii. 4. 19. 1, Káth. At., iv. 8, there are two vocatives mostead of the two accusatives; besides, we have subhage for subhadrim; is explained by Siyana, 'O thou that art veiled in a beautiful girally.

must be retained, at least for the wording of the text which we have in the V. S. In the Pratynei-Pariashta, Kampilya is given as the eastern limit of Madhyade'a; see my Pratijadastra, pp. 101-105.

¹³⁰ See V. S., x. 21; the parallel passages in T. S., 1. 8, 15, T. Br., 1, 7 9. 1, Káth, xv. 8, have nothing of this

The Bráhmana, moreover, ex-

Freally designates, motorover, and the really designated by the property of the first that to be understood! The commentary remarks on it: argument in industrial real realization of the Kánva recension in these passages? I has it, as in the Samphid, so here also, not arjuna, but pladymat []

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recur in the Rik-Samhitá, and frequently with considerable variations, the origin and explanation of which I have already discussed in the introduction (see above, pp. 9, 10). Readings more ancient than those of the Rik are not found in the Yajus, or at least only once in a while, which results mainly from the fact that Rik and Yajus agree for the most part with each other, as opposed to the Sáman. We do, however, find that verses have undergone later alterations to adapt them to the sense of the ritual. And finally, we meet with a large number of readings which appear of equal authority with those of the Rik, especially in the verses which recur in those portions of the Rik-Samhitá that are to be regarded as the most modern.

The Vájasaneyi-Samhitá, in both recensions, has been edited by myself (Berlin, 1849–52), with the commentary of Mahídhara, 131 written towards the end of the sixteenth century; and in the course of next year a translation is intended to appear, which will give the ceremonial belonging to each verse, together with a full glossary.* Of the work of Úaṭa, a predecessor of Mahídhara, only fragments have been preserved, and the commentary of Mádhava, which related to the Kánva recension, 132 appears to be entirely lost. Both were supplanted by Mahídhara's work, and consequently obliterated; an occurrence which has happened in a similar way in almost all branches of Indian literature, and is greatly to be regretted.

I now turn to the Bráhmana of the White Yajus, the Satapatha-Bráhmana, which, from its compass and contents, undoubtedly occupies the most significant and important position of all the Bráhmanas. First, as to its

131 For which, unfortunately, no sufficient manuscript materials were at my disposal; see Müller, Preface to vol. vi. of his large edition of the Rik, p. xlvi. sqq., and my reply in *literarisches Centralblatt*, 1875, pp. 510. 520.

519, 520.

* [This promise has not been fulfilled, owing to the pressure of other labours.] The fortieth adhyáya, the Isopanishad, is in the Kánva recension commented by Samkara; it has been translated and edited several times together with this commen-

tary (lately again by Roer in the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. viii.) [and vol. xv.—A lithographed edition of the text of the Vájas. Samhitá, with a Hindí translation of Mahídhara's commentary, has been published ky Giriprasádavarman, Rája of Besma, 1870-74, in Besma].

1870-74, in Besma].

132 Upon what this special statement is based I cannot at present show; but that Madhava commented the V. S. also is shown for example, by the quotation in Mahidhara to

xiii. 45.

extent.-this is sufficiently denoted by its very name. which describes it as consisting of ICO pathas (paths), or The earliest known occurrence of this name is in the ninth adrituka to Pan, iv. 2, 60, and in the gang to Pan. v. 3. 100, both authorities of very doubtful* antiquity. The same remark applies to the Naigeya-daivata. where the name also appears (see Benfey's Súmaveda, p. 277). With the single exception of a passage in the twelfth book of the Maha-Bharata, to which I shall revert in the sequel, I have only met with it, besides, in the commen-. taries and in the colophons of the MSS, of the work itself. In the Madhyamdina school the Satapatha-Brahmana consists of fourteen kándas, each of which bears a special title in the commentaries and in the colophons; these titles are usually borrowed from the contents, ii. and vii. are, however, to me inexplicable. The fourteen kandas are together subdivided into 100 adhyayas (or 68 prapáthakas), 438 bráhmanas, and 7624 kandikás 133 In the Kanva recension the work consists of seventeen kandas, the first, fifth, and fourteenth books being each divided into two parts; the first book, moreover, has here changed places with the second, and forms, consequently, the second and third. The names of the books are the same, but the division into prapáthakas is altogether unknown: the adhydyas in the thirteen and a half books that have thus far been recovered * number S5, the brahmanas 360, the kandilais 4965. The total for the whole work amounts, according to a list accompanying one of the manuscripts, to 104 adhyayas, 446 brahmanas, 5866 kandıkas If from this the recension of the Kanva school seems considerably

Elapddild, that of the seventh Has- . tighafa.

[•] The gauge is an altratigume, and he sitre to which it belongs is, according to the Calcuta edition, not explained in the Mahidadays; possibly therefore it does not belong to the original text of Yanin. (The starting in question is, in point of fact, explained in the Mahidadays, (fol. 67), and thus the existence of the name featerpaths, as well as skal-

with this, which are found in the MSS, see note on pp 119, 120.

2 Of the fourth book there exists only the first half; and the third, thirteenth, and sixteenth books are

only the first half; and the third, thirteenth, and sixteenth books are wanting altegether. [It is much to be regretted that nothing has yet been done for the Kánva recension, and that a complete copy has not yet been recovered.]

shorter than that of the Madhyamdinas, it is so only in appearance; the disparity is probably rather to be explained by the greater length of the kandikas in the former. Omissions, it is true, not unfrequently occur. For the rest, I have no means of ascertaining with perfect accuracy the precise relation of the Brahmana of the Kanva school to that of the Madhyamdinas; and what I have to say in the sequel will therefore relate solely to the

latter, unless I expressly mention the former.

As I have already remarked, when speaking of the Samhitá, the first nine kándas of the Bráhmana refer to the first eighteen books of the Samhitá; they quote the separate verses in the same order * word for word, explaining them dogmatically, and establishing their connection with the ritual. The tenth kánda, which bears the name of Agni-rahasya ("the mystery of fire"), contains mystical legends and investigations as to the significance, &c., of the various ceremonies connected with the preparation of the sacred fires, without referring to any particular portions of the Samhitá. This is the case likewise in the eleventh kánda. called from its extent Ashtádhyáyí, which contains a recapitulation of the entire ritual already discussed, with supplements thereto, especially legends bearing upon it, together with special particulars concerning the study of the sacred works and the provisions made for this pur-The twelfth kánda, called Madhyama, "the middle one," treats of práyaśchittas or propitiatory ceremonies for untoward events, either previous to the sacrifice, during, or after it; and it is only in its last portion, where the Sautramani is discussed, that it refers to certain of the formulas contained in the Samhitá (xix.-xxi.) and relating to this ceremony. The thirteenth kánda, called Aśvamedha, treats at some length of the horse sacrifice; and then with extreme brevity of the human sacrifice, the universal sacrifice, and the sacrifice to the Manes; touching upon the relative portions of the Samhitá (xxii.-xxxv.) but very seldom, and even then very slightly. The fourteenth kánda, called Aranyaka, treats in its first three adhyáyas

^{*} Only in the introduction does a variation occur, as the Brahmana treats first of the morning and evening sacrifices, and not till afterwards

of the new moon and full moon sacrifices, which is evidently more correct systematically.

of the purification of the fire.134 and here it quotes almost in their entirety the three last books but one of the Samhitá (xxxvii -xxxix); the last six adhyáyas are of a purely speculative and legendary character, and form by themselves a distinct work, or Upanishad, under the name of Prihad-Aranyaka. This general summary of the contents of the several kandas of itself suggests the conjecture that the first nine constitute the most ancient part of the Brahmana, and that the last five, on the contrary, are of later origin,-a conjecture which closer investigation reduces to a certainty, both on external and internal evidence. With reference to the external evidence, in the first place, we find it distinctly stated in the passage of the Mahá-Bhárata above alluded to (xii 11734) that the complete Satapatha comprises a Rahasya (the tenth kánda), a Samgraha (the eleventh kánda), and a Parisesha (the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth handas) Further, in the zárttika already quoted for the name Satapatha, we also meet with the word shashfipatha 135 as the name of a work: and I have no hesitation in referring this name to the first nine kandas, which collectively number sixty adhyáyas. On the other hand, in support of the opinion that the last five kandas are a later addition to the first nine, I have to adduce the term Madhyama ("the middle one"), the name of the twelfth kánda, which can only be accounted for in this way, whether we refer it merely to the last three kandas but one, or to all the five.*

124 The praiargya concerns, rather, the lustration of the sacrificer himself; see above note 124, p. 108.

third adhydya (viz., of the Admin), so that XVI and XVII. councide.—[A highly remarkable atatement is found in the MSS of the Mddhyandum recension at v. 3. 1. 14, to the effect that this point marks not only kindagyal ridham, with 236 kandidis, but also, according to a marginal gloss, istapathanyal ridham, with 3129 kandidis; seep, 497 of my clutton. As a matter of fact, the preceding landidis of some notice of the tentral ridham with a theorem for the record half, we are only brought down to ziz. 7. 3. 18, that it, not even to the el of the twelfth.

which marks +1

¹³⁵ It is found in the Pratijid.
Parisishta also, and along with it the name advispaths (1); istapaths, on the contrary, is apparently winting there; see my essay on the Pratijid-Sūtra, pp. 104, 105.

[&]quot;In the latter cross a difficulty is caused by the Kahva recension, which subdivides the last Adada into two parts (xvi, xvi); this dirvion, however, seems not to have been generally received, since in the MSS of Sunkaris commentary, at least, the Upanishad (xvii) is reckoned throughout as beguining with the

Now these last five kándas appear to stand in the same order in which they actually and successively originated; so that each succeeding one is to be regarded as less ancient than the one that precedes it. This conjecture is based on internal evidence drawn from the data therein contained.—evidence which at the same time decides the question of their being posterior to the first nine kúndas. In the first place, the tenth kánda still connects itself pretty closely with the preceding books, especially in its great veneration for Sándilya, the principal authority upon the building of altars for the sacred fires. The following are the data which seem to me to favour the view that it belongs to a different period from the first nine books. In i. 5. 1, ff., all the sacrifices already discussed in the preceding books are enumerated in their proper order, and identified with the several ceremonies of the Agni-chayana, or preparation of the sacred fireplace. — Of the names of teachers here mentioned, several end in -áyana, a termination of which we find only one example in the seventh, eighth, and ninth kándas respectively: thus we meet here with a Rauhinayana, Sayakayana, Vamakaksháyana (also in vii.), Rájastambáyana, Śándilyáyana (also in ix.), Sátyáyani (also in viii.), and the Sákáyanins.—The Vansa appended at the close (i.c., the list of the teachers of this book) differs from the general Vansa of the entire Bráhmana (at the close of the fourteenth book) in not referring the work to Yajnavalkya, but to Sandilya, and also to Tura Kávasheya (whose ancestor Kavasha we find on the banks of the Sarasvatí in the Aitareya-Bráhmana). The only tribes mentioned are the Salvas and Kekayas (especially their king, Aśvapati Kaikeya),—two western tribes not elsewhere alluded to in the Brahmanas.—The

present extent of the work (3812 k.) is at vi. 7. I. 19, where also the MSS. repeat the above statement (p. 555).—It deserves special mention that the notation of the accents operates beyond the limits of the individual kandikás, the accent at the end of a kandikás being modified by the accent of the first word of the next kandiká. From this we might perhaps conclude that the

marking of the accents is earlier in date than the division of the text into kandikás. As, however, we find exactly the same state of things with regard to the final and initial words of the individual brühmanas (see Jenaer Literaturzeitung, 1875, p. 314), we should also have to refer the brühmana division to a later date, and this is hardly possible].

legends here as well as in the four succeeding kandas are mostly of an historical character, and are besides chiefly connected with individual teachers who cannot have lived at a time very distant from that of the legends themselves. In the earlier kandas, on the contrary, the legends are mostly of a mythological character, or, if historical, refer principally to occurrences belonging to remote antiquity; so that here a distinct difference is evident.—The trayi vidya (the three Vedas) is repeatedly discussed in a very special manner, and the number of the richas is stated to be 12,000, that of the yajus-verses 8000, and that of the sumans 4000. Here also for the first time appear the names Adhvaryus, Bahyrichas, and Chhandogas side by side: * here, too, we have the first occurrence of the words upanishad (as sára of the Veda), upanishadám ádesáh, mimansa (mentioned once before, it is true, in the first kunda), adhideratam, adhiyajnam, adhyutmam; 136 and lastly, here for the first time we have the form of address bhaian (instead of the earlier bhagaran). Now and then also a śloka is quoted in confirmation, a thing which occurs extremely seldom in the preceding books. Further, many of the technical names of the samans and sastras are mentioned (this, however, has occurred before, and also in the tenth book of the Samhita); and generally, frequent reference is made to the connection subsisting with the richas and samans, which harmonises with the peculiarly mys-- the whole kánda.

supplement to the first

ts contents

two adhyayas treat of the sacrifices at the new and full moon; the four following, of the morning and evening sacriicial fires, of the sacrifices at the three seasons of the year, e inauguration of the pupil by the teacher (áchárya), of oper study of the sacred doctrines, &c., and the last the sacrifices of animals. 'The Rigreda, Yajurreda, reda, the Atharvángirasas, the anusúsanas, the rákorákya, the strhašapurána, the nárášansís,

is are named as subjects of study. We have

váturulas (those crait), sarparulas (serpent - ce gere), derajanaridas,

156 Mimáñsá, adhulanatam, and adhydimam occur several times in the earlier books.

already met with this enumeration (see p. 93) in the second chapter of the Taitt. Aranyaka, although in a considerably later form.* and we find a similar one in the fourteenth kánda. In all these passages, the commentaries,† probably with perfect justice, interpret these expressions in this way, viz., that first the Samhitás are specified, and then the different parts of the Brahmanas; so that by the latter set of terms we should have to understand. not distinct species of works, but only the several portions respectively so designated which were blended together in the Bráhmanas, and out of which the various branches of literature were in course of time gradually developed. terms anusúsana ("ritual precept" according to Sáyana, but in Vrihad-Ar., ii. 5. 19, iv. 3. 25, Kathopan., 6. 15, "spiritual doctrine"), vidyá, "spiritual doctrine," and gáthá, "strophe of a song" (along with śloka), are in fact so used in a few passages (gàthá indeed pretty frequently) in these last five books, and in the Brahmanas or Upanishads of the Rik and Sáman. Similarly vákovákya in the sense of "disputation" occurs in the seventh kánda, and itihása at least once in the eleventh kánda itself (i. 6. 9). It is only the expressions purána and nárásansis that do. not thus occur; in their stead—in the sense of narrative, legend—we find, rather, the terms ákhyána, vyákhyána, anvákhyána, upákhyána. Vyákhyána, together with anuvyákhyána and upavyákhyána, also occurs in the sense of "explanation." In these expressions, accordingly, we have evidence that at the time of this eleventh kanda certain Samhitás and Bráhmanas of the various Vedas, and even the Atharva-Samhitá itself, were in existence. But, further, as bearing upon this point, in addition to the single verses from the songs of the Rik, which are here, as in the earlier books, frequently cited (by "tad etad rishina' bhyanúktam"), we have in the eleventh kánda one very special quotation, extending over an entire hymn, and introduced by the words "tad etad uktapratyuktam pañchadasarcham Bahvricháh práhuh." It is an interesting fact for the critic that in our text of the Rik the hymn in question

^{*} From it has evidently originated a passage in Yájnavalkya's Code (i. 45), which does not harmonise at all with the rest of that work.

† Here Sáyana forms an exception, as he at least states the other explanation also.

(mand. x. 95) numbers not fifteen but eighteen richas. Single stokas are also frequently quoted as confirmation. From one of these it appears that the care taken of horses in the palace of Janamejaya had at that time passed into a proverb: this is also the first mention of this king Rudra here for the first time receives the name of Mahadera* (v. 3. 5).—In jii. 3. 1, ff, special rules are for the first time given concerning the begging (bhitshd) of the brahmachdrins, &c., which custom is besides alluded to in the thirtieth book of the Samhitá (v. 18]—But what throws special light upon the date of the eleventh Lånda is the frequent mention here made, and for the first time, of Janaka, king (samráj) of Videha, as the patron of Yájnavalkya. The latter, the Kaurupanchála Uddálaka Árun and his son Svetaketu, are (as in the Vrihad-Áranyaka) the chief

figures in the legends.

The twelfth kanda alludes to the destruction of the kingdom of the Srinjayas, whom we find in the second kanda at the height of their prosperity, and associated with the Kurus. This connection may still be traced here, for it seems as if the Kauravya Valhika Prátipíya wished to take their part against Chakra, their enemy, who was a native of the country south of the Reva, and priest of King Dushtarítu of Dasapurushamrájya, but that his efforts failed.—The names Várkali (i.e., Váshkali) and Náka Maudgalya probably also point to a later period of time; the latter does not occur elsewhere except in the Vrihad-Aranyaka and the Taittiriyopanishad. The Rigveda, the Yajurveda, and the Samayeda are mentioned, and we find testimony to the existence of the Vedic literature generally in the statement that a ceremony once taught by Indra to Vasishtha and formerly only known to the Vasishthaswhence in former times only a Vasishtha could act as brahman (high priest) at its performance-might now be studied by any one who liked, and consequently that any one might officiate as brahman thereat 137-In iii. 4. I occurs the first mention of purusha Narayana -The name of Proti Kausambeya Kausurubindi probably presupposes the existence of the Panchala city Kausambi.

^{*} In the sixth ldnda he is still 237 See 147. I. Stealled mahan derah.

The thirteenth kánda repeatedly mentions purusha Náránana. Here also Kuvera Vaiśravana, king of the Rakshasas, is named for the first time. So, too, we find here the first allusion to the súltas of the Rik, the anuvakas* of the Yaius, the dusats of the Saman, and the parvans of the Atharvánas and Angirasas, which division, however, does not appear in the extant text of the Atharvan. division into parrans is also mentioned in connection with the Sarpavidyá and the Devajanavidyá, so that by these names at all events distinct works must be understood. Of Itihasa and Purana nothing but the name is given: they are not spoken of as divided into parvans, a clear proof that even at that time they were merely understood as isolated stories and legends, and not as works of any extent 133—While in the first nine books the statement that a subject has been fully treated of already is expressed by tasyokto bandhuh [or, so 'súv cva bandhuh, and the like], the same is expressed here by tasyoktam brahmanam.—The use in v. 1. 18 of the words chavachana and bahurachana exactly corresponds to their later grammatical signification.—This kånda is, however, very specially distinguished by the number of gáthás, strophes of historical purport, which it quotes at the close of the account of the horse sacrifice, and in which are given the names of kings who celebrated it in earlier times. Only one of these gathas appears in the Rik-Samhitá (mand. iv. 42. 8); the greater number of them recur in the last book of the Aitareya-Bráhmana, and in the Mahá-Bhárata, xii. 910, ff., in both places with many variations.† The question here arises whether we have to regard these gathas as fragments of more lengthy hymns, or if they must be looked upon merely as separate memorial verses. The fact that in connection with some of these names (if we take into account

* This term, however, occurs in the preceding káṇḍas also, c.g., in ix I I I

ix. 1. I. I.5.

123 This is favoured also by the fact that they are here attributed to fishermen and fowlers; with which may be compared the tale of the fishermaiden as mother of Vyása, in the Mahá-Bhárata. The whole state-

ment recurs in almost identical

terms in the Śankh. Śr., xvi. 2; Á. val. Śr., x. 7.

[†] The passages in the Mahá-Bhárata evidently connect themselves with the Satapatha-Bráhmana, to which, as well as to its author Yájnavalkya, and his patron Janaka, special regard is had in this book of the Mahá-Bhárata. [See also Śánkh., xvi. 8. 25-29. 32.]

the Altarera-Brihmana also) two, three, four, fvr. and even six verses are quoted, and always in the same recein blolas, certainly favours the farmer vi. w. Only on- eacention occurs where the first and fourth verses are Think but the second trishfulh, the third not being queich is all: it is, however, according to the commentary, understand in implication, so that this instance tells, periops, with a reco special force in favour of the view in question T. : Enlogy of the gathas or slokas of non-kistoric purpose spaces elsowhere cannot be brought forward in surgest cities of the one view or of the other, for the very same un anxioty exists respecting them. Moreover, there remes rejected to contain very old Vedic forms.* Again, their carractical of enlogy are for the most part very hyperbolical, and it might therefore perhaps be looked upon as the uti range of a still fresh feeling of gratitude; so that we should have to consider their origin as in part contemperate with the Princes they extel: otherwise this circumstance dies as: readily admit of explanation. A passage in the thirteen the lduda itself directly favours this view feed I.S., i 157. Among the kings here named the following descrite service mention: Bharata, son of Duhshanta and the Arears Sakuniala, and descendant of Sudvurana Salarita, Sirajita, king of the Bharatas, and enemy of Di ritarities. king of the Katis-Purukutsa & Alkshvaka-Pera Atri-Haranyanakha Kausalya — but alove all, Jamanayan Pankshita, with the Pankshitlyas (his three brothers), Pais masens, Ugracena, and Srutasena, who by means of the horse sacrifice were absolved from "all guilt; all loud = --Latyd." The time when these last four lived county.

any as coming forward in officei-

And names too thus, the hing Still thin is both in live! a very of the Panchdlas is called Kraivya the explanation green by the Brab. forced explanation, and best in many many being that the Palichalas were of these verses are of proof Links † Unless these verses were merely ed purport, and comisin no a losses invented by priests in order to stito the presents given to the IT's's mulate kings to copy and emplate Bee Val. 8. 34- 52 (not in the tie liberality of their appearant. \$ See Rik, mond, ir, 42. 8,

tion to Bhallaveya; while his own opinion, differing from that of the latter, is in turn rejected by Yajnavalkya. On account of the interest of the subject I introduce here another passage from the fourteenth book, from which we may gather the same result. We there find a rival of Vájnavalkya testing him with a question, the solution of which the former had previously obtained from a Gandharva, who held in his possession the daughter of Kápya Patamchala of the country of the Madras;—the question, namely, "Whither have the Parikshitas gone?" the solution of which therefore appears to have been looked upon as extremely difficult. Yájnavalkya answers: "Thither where (all) asvamedha sacrificers go." Consequently the Párikshitas must at that time have been altogether extinct. Yet their life and end must have been still fresh in the memory of the people, and a subject of general curiosity.* It almost seems as though their "guilt, their brahmahatya," had been too great for people to believe that it could have been atoned for by sacrifices were they ever so holy; or that by such means the Párikshitas could have become partakers of the reward fixed for other less culpable evil-doers. It appears further as if the Brahmans had taken special pains to rehabilitate their memory, and in this undoubtedly they were completely successful. Or was it, on the contrary, that the majesty and power of the Párikshitas was so great and dazzling, and their end so surprising, that it was difficult to believe they had really passed away? I prefer, however, the former explanation.

The fourteenth kánda, at the beginning of its first part (that relating to ritual), contains a legend of a contention among the gods, in which Vishnu came off victorious, whence it became customary to say, "Vishnu is the śreshtha (luckiest?) of the gods." This is the first time that we find Vishnu brought into such prominence; indeed, he otherwise only appears in the legend of the three strides, and as the representative of the sacrifice itself,—a position which is, in fact, ascribed to

^{*} The country of the Madras lies in the north-west, and is therefore

wife of Pandu and mother of the two youngest Pándavas, Nakula and remote from the country of the Sahadeva, was a native of this re-Kurus. According to the Mahá- gion, and Paríkshit also had a Má-Bhárata, however, Mádri, second dravatí to wife.

him here also Indra, as here related, afterwards strikes off his head in jealousy.120 The second part of this kanda. the Vrihad-Aranyaka, which consists of five prapathakas, or six adhyáyas, is again divided into three kándas, the Madhukanda, adhy. i. ii. (prap. i. 1-ii. 5); the Yamavalkíya-kánda, adhy iii iv. (prap. ii. 6-iv. 3); and the Khilakánda, adhy. v. vi. (prap. 1v. 4-v. 5). Of these three divisions, each succeeding one appears to be later than that which precedes it, and each closes with a Vansa or statement of the line of teachers, carried back to Brahman, the primeval source. The third brahmana of the Madhu-kanda is an explanation of three slokas prefixed to it, a form of which we have no previous example. The fifth (adhy. ii. 1) contains, as has already been stated (p 51), another recension of the legend related in the fourth adhyana of the Kaushitaky-Upanishad, of Ajatasatru, the king of Káši, who was jealous of Janaka's fame as a patron of learning. The eighth (adhy, ii. 4) contains another recension of the closing legend in the Yajnavalkiya-kanda, of Yájnavalkya's two wives, Maitreyí and Kátyáyaní,this being the first mention we have of these names. Here, as also in the eleventh kanda, we find an enumeration of the subjects of Vedic study, namely, Rigreda, Yajurreda, Sámareda, the Atharvángirasas, itihása, purána, ridyás, upanishads, ślokas, sútras, anuryákhyánas, tyákhyánas* The same enumeration recurs in the Yajnavalkiya-kanda (adhy vi. 10). Samkara and Dvivedaganga, the commentators of the Vrihad-Aranyaka, both, like . Sayana (on the eleventh kánda), take the expressions stihasa, &c , to mean sections in the Brahmanas. They are, in fact, as I have already pointed out (p. 122), used in

the Fanch Er. of Makha alone (cf. also T S, ni 2 4. 1). In the Satapatha, Makha is only mentioned among the gods who assembled, though, to be sure, he appears immediately before Vishnu

The last five expressions take here the place of anuidsana, railoutlya, narakansis, and gathas in the eleventh book. The latter are clearly the more ancient.

¹²⁹ This is wrong. The gods send orth ants to graw the bowstrung of Vishnu, who stands leaning on his bended bow; the string, enapping and springing upwards, severs his head from his body. The same legend recurs not only in the parallel passage of the Tailt. Ar. (v. 1), but also in the Panch. Br., vii. 5, ibut white in the Sat Er. it is related of Vi-limi, the Tailt Ar. itslist it of Ishka Vacalevars, and

this sense in the Bráhmanas themselves. It is only in regard to sitra" that I am unable to prove a similar use (though Dvivedaganga pretty frequently calls certain sentences by the name of sotra, e.g., i. 2. 18, 22, 3. 1, &c.); and this term raises a doubt whether the opinion of the commentators ought to hold good with reference to these passages also, and their time. The ninth (which is the last) brokmana is evidently the one from which the Madhu-kanda received its name. It treats of the intimate relation existing between the four elements (earth, water, fire, air), the sun, the quarters of the heavens, the moon, lightning, thunder, ákása (ether), &c., on the one hand, and all beings on the other; this relation being set forth by representing the one as the madhu (honey) of the other. This doctrine is traced to Dadhyanch Atharvana, as is also, in fact, done in the Rik-Samhitá itself (i. 116. 12, 117, 22). In the beginning of the fourth kánda of the Satap. Brihmana also (iv. 1. 5. 18) we find the madhu nama brahmanam mentioned expressly in this connection; Sávana, too, quotes Sátyóyana (-Vájosoncyau) in support A very early date is thus guaranteed for the name at least, and probably also for the contents of this chapter; though its form, of course, cannot make any pretension to high antiquity. The concluding Vansa here, as elsewhere, varies very much in the two schools; that is, as regards the last twenty members or so back to Yáska and Asurayana; but from these upwards to the mythical fountain-heads the two schools generally agree. Asuráyana himself (consequently, also Yaska, who is recorded as his contemporary) is here placed two stages after Asuri; at the end of the Khila-kanda he is even designated as his pupil; Asuri, again, being set down as the pupil of Yajnavalkya. The list closes, therefore, with about the twenty-fifth member from the latter. It must consequently have been continued long after the Madhu-kánda had been finally put into shape, since both the analogy of the Vansa contained in the last brahmana but one of the Khila-kanda and the very nature of the case forbid the

^{*} The word sitra is found several supreme Brahman itself, which, like times here, but in the sense of a band, embraces and holds together 'thread, band,' only, to denote the everything.

conclusion that its reduction could have taken place so late as the twenty-fifth generation from Yajnavalkya. The commentators never enter into any explanation of these Vansas; doubtless, therefore, they too regarded them as ighly

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Yájnavalkíya-kánda is the glorification of Yájnavalkya, and it recounts how, at the court of his patron Janaka,. king of Videha, he silenced all the Brahmans of the Kurupañchálas, &c., and gained his patron's full confidence (like the corresponding legends in the twelfth book of the · Mahá-Bhárata). The legend narrated in the eleventh kánda (vi. 3. 1 ff) may perhaps have been the model; at least the Yajnavalkiya here begins in exactly the same manner, and gives also, almost in the same words, the account of the discomfiture and punishment of Vidagdha Śakalya, which alone is given in the eleventh kanda. It closes with a legend already given in the Madhu-kanda, but with some deviations. The expressions panditya, muni, and mauna, occurring in this kanda, are worthy of special notice as being new 110 (iii. 2, 1, iv. 2, 25); further, ckahansa, framana, tápasa (iv. 1. 12, 22), pravrájin (iv. 2. 25, where blikshácharva is recommended), and pratibuddha (iv. 2. 17; the verb pratibudh occurs in this sense i. 2. 21), and lastly, the names chandala and paulkasa (iv. 1. 22). I am now of opinion t that it is to this Yajnavalkiya-kanda that the rartika to Panini iv. 3. 105 refers when it speaks of the Yajnaralkani brahmanani as not purana-prokta, but tulyakala, "contemporaneous," i.e., with Panini. The wording of the rarttika does not necessarily imply that

140 "The word muni occurs in the later portions of the Rik-Sam-

Mmong them Aérala, the kingig Hotar, Vidachha Sitalya, who lostthis life for his imperiment, Richola Kanabitaksey, and the Vichakusri, who all four the Vichakusri, who all four the property of least, according to the Gipty-Solat hard the William of the Company of the tires of the Rik, towards which therefore a kind of jealousy is here ummutaksly exhibited.

hits, viz., viii. 17. 14, and x. 136. 2-5."—First German edition, Errata. Paulkasa is found also in V. S. 30.

[†] Formerly I was of different opinion; see I. Et., i. 57. Many of the views there expressed—especially pp. 161-232—have here either been further developed or modified after careful consideration of the various passages, as may be perceived by comparison.

these Bráhmanas originated from Yájnavalkya himself; consequently they might bear his name simply because treating of him. I prefer the latter view, for it appears to me very hazardous to regard the entire Satapatha-Bráhmana, or even its last books only, as directly bearing the name of Yajnavalkya,-however fully it may embody his system,—or to set it down as contemporaneous with, or but little anterior to, Pánini. In regard to the Yájnavalkíva-kánda, however, I have not the slightest hesitation in doing the latter. 141 — Finally, the Khila-kanda, or last kanda of the Vrihad-Áranyaka, is uniformly described by the commentators as such a khila, or supplement; and as a matter of fact it is clearly enough distinguished from the other kándas. Its first adhyáya—the fifth of the Vrihad-Aranyaka—is made up of a number of small fragments, which contain for the most part mystical plays upon words, of the most clumsy description. The second adhydya contains two brahmanas, parts of which, as I have already remarked (p. 71), recur in precisely the same form in the Chhandogyopanishad vii. 1, 3. Of the third brahmana. which contains ritual injunctions, we also find another recension, ibid. vii. 2. It concludes with a Vansa, not, however, in the form of a list, but of a detailed account. According to it, the first author of the doctrine here taught was Uddálaka Áruni, who imparted it to Yájnavalkya, here for the first time called Vájasaneya; * his pupil was Madhuka Paingya, from whom the doctrine was transmitted to Chúda Bhágavitti, then to Jánaki Ayahsthúna, and lastly to Satyakáma Jábála. The name of the latter (a teacher often alluded to in the Chhandogyopanishad) is in fact borne in later works by a school of the White Yajus, so

¹⁴¹ On this subject compare Goldstücker's detailed discussion in his Páṇini, p. 132-140, and my special rejoinder, I. St., v. 65-74, xiii. 443, 444, I. Str., ii. 214. According to these expositions, the author of the vārttikas must, on the one hand, have considered the Yāṇavalkāni Brāhmanāni as originally promulgated (prokta) by Yāṇavalkya; but, on the other hand, he must also have looked upon the recension then extant as contemporaneous with Pá-

nini. Although he here counts Yajnavalkya among the puranas, 'ancients,'—and this interpretation is required by the wording of the varttika,—yet the Kaśika, on the contrary, expressly declares him to be "not chirakala."

^{*} In the Yajnavalkiyakanda Uddalaka Aruni is, like the other Brahmans, silenced by Yajnavalkya, no mention being made of his being the preceptor of the latter.

BRAMMIANA OF THE WHITE YAS

that we might perhaps ascribe to him the final a that we must permaps ascence to may the dumin of this doctrine in its existing form. The fourth or this account in his existing total, the thought brakmana of this aanyaya is the the thurt, at from the nature of its contents, which, consisting do of the riles to be observed before, and at the uo or the rices to be observed before, and at the contain to a Griffya-Sulfra. It too closes with a vital moment lamps, and store process with a vital store of the contains and store of the contains a Petrain to a Ginnya-Suira. It too Closey With a William of quite minimal length, and distinguished to the control of the contr this time of quite musual length, and utsing usage, as the more recent members are concerned, by this periods the concerned of the concerned o as the more recent memoers are concerned, by this their names are formed by the addition of particles. arity, that their names are tormed by the addition of P parts of the names are accontanted by 71), and that because of the names are accontanted days is here call. fairs of the names are accentuated denri is nere can be pupil of Yiliavalkya, and the latter the pupil the pupil of Yajnavaikya, and the latter the pupil and the latter the pupil and the latter than the armonal of the armonal and the armonal armonal and the armonal arm Uddalaka. Then, having passed through ten more source of the original authors. and arrived at Autya. the sun-god, as the original author find the following words as the close of the whole the who Irihmana: datiyani mani suklan yayanshi Vayasancyena khyayanle, these White Yayas-lexts ori-Itinarallyene "klydyante," these White Yajus-texts originating † from Adulya are transmitted by Vajus-texts originary and the Yajus does not refer to the Khile-kanda, but to the order of the While-kanda, but to the control Vedh (see the White Yans). this vanda does not refer to the Anna-Kanaa, but to the entire Veda (re, the White Yayus) entire Prayachana, the entire veca (ee, the winte 1 ajus).

This view is at all events favoured by the fact that the This view is at all events lavoured by the lines that the close of the tenth book (the only one which Vansa at the close of the tenth book (the only one which are the standard Drahmana besides the standard Drahmana besides to the stan appears in the whole of the Satapatha-Drainhaid, vesices of the Madhickanda, Vainavalkiya-kanda, and Kullathose of the Madau-kanda, kanayadaya-kanda, and mila-kanda) + evidently refers to this Vana, and presupposes Angua) 1 evidently refers to this valid, and presupposes of commencement it says; sandnam As existence when at its commencement it says: sananam the teachers are the sing, some states of the state Still in this yansa three steps up to tainavalaya, time in tension in the sheat lasten at all his time doctrine is not sheat lasten at all his time. Consideration to not sheat lasten at all his time. the tenth book, as before remarked, the according is now to the latter of all, but from Sampirfulta through five stops to similary, and through two more to through the steps to Saluatra, and through two more to latter circumstance suggests to

o In the Kinva recension the Valida here too at the close offer vanis. Idinatelly year. riters.

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be Kana recension adds this see S. S. yane,

§ Who is quoted in the After

Tribunari as contemporare of with

Tribunari as contemporare of with

Janamejaya (as his sacrificial priest); ses J. Sl., L 203, note.

us, moreover, the possibility of yet another division of the Satapatha-Brahmana with reference to the origin of the different kándas. For in the first five and the last four kándas the name of Yainavalkya meets us exclusively, and very frequently, as that of the teacher whose opinion is appealed to as the decisive authority, whose system consequently is in any case there set forth. Further, if we except the Yainavalkíva-kánda and the gáthás in the thirteenth kánda, races settled in eastern or central Hindustán are the only ones mentioned in these kándas, viz., the Kurupañchálas, Kosalavidehas, Śviknas, and Srinjavas. Once only the Prachyas (eastern tribes) are opposed to the Válníkas (western tribes); again there is once mention made of the Udichyas (inhabitants of the north); and lastly, the (southern) Nishadhas are once alluded to in the name of their king, Nala Naishadha (or, as he is here called, Naishidha). From this the remaining kándas—the sixth to the tenth—differ palpably enough. They recognise Sándilya as the final authority † instead of Yajnavalkya, whom they do not even name; neither do they mention any but north-western races, viz., the Gandharas with their king Nagnajit, the Salvas, and the Kekayas. T May not the above-mentioned Vansa apply not only to the tenth book, but to these five kandas? Since the latter treat specially of the fire-ritual, of the erection of the sacred fire-altars, their possible north-

later times. Besides, his patron Janaka is mentioned at least in the Kaushitaky - Upanishad. [In two sections of the Kaushitaki-, or, Sankhayana-Aranyaka, which, however, are clearly of very late origin, Yajnavalkya himself is actually cited (9. 7 and 13. 1); but these passages are themselves direct quotations from Satap. Br. xiv.—In the Gopatha-Br., which shows so many special points of relationship to the Satapatha, Yajnavalkya is never mentioned.]

+ So do the Sama-Satras; Sandilya is mentioned besides in the Chhandogyop, only.

^{*} The fact that this is so clear may easily account for the circumstance that the Puranas have here for once a statement in conformity with fact, as they cite Yajuavalkya as the author of the White Yajus. We may here mention that the name of Yajnavalkya occurs nowhere else in Vedic literature, which might be explained partly by the difference of locality, partly by his having edited the White Yajus after the text of the other Vedas had been fixed; though the latter reason seems insufficient, since other teachers of the White Yajus are mentioned frequently in later Vedic literature, as, for instance, Aruni, Svetaketu, Satyakáma Jábála, &c., who are either his contemporaries, or belong to even

[#]The legend concerning these recurs in the Chhandogyop.

western origin might be explained by the fact that the doctrine upon this subject had, though differing from that of the Persa-Aryans, been kept particularly pure in the north-west owing to the proximity of this latter people.* However this may be, whether the north-western origin of the doctrine of these five kandas be well founded or otherwise.142 they at any rate belong, in their present form, to the same period as (the tenth possibly to a somewhat later period than) the first five kandas. On this point the mention of Aruna Aupavesi, Aruni, Svetaketu Aruneya, and of Indradyumna (in the tenth book), as well as the frequent reprehension of the Charakadhvaryus, is decisive. That the various parts of the Brahmana were blended together by one arranging hand 143 is evident in particular from the repeated occurrence of phrases intimating that a subject has already been treated of in an earlier part, or is to be found presented more in detail in a later part. A. closer investigation of the various instances where this occurs has not as yet been within my power.

The number of deviations in regard to ritual or readings cited in the Bráhmana is very great. To these regard is had here and there even in the Samhitd itself, two different mantras being quoted side by side as equally good. Most frequently the citation of such variations in the Bráhmana is introduced by the words ity eke, or tail āhuh; yet pretty often the names of individual teachers are also mentioned, who must here, in part at least, be looked upon as representing the schools which bear their names. Thus in addition to those already named we have: Ashádha Sáwayasa, Barku Várshna, Aupoditeya, Páñchi, Takshan, Jívala Chailaki, Asuri, Mādhuki, Kahoda Kaushitaki, Várshnya Sityayajia, Sátyayajia, Sátyaya, Budila Akvatariśvi, Várshnya Sítyayajia, Sátyaya, Budila Akvatariśvi,

Ought we to bring the Šikáyanins into direct connection with the latter? But then what would become of the counction between Sikáyanya (in the Maitráyani-Upanshad) and the Šikyas? (i).

¹⁴¹ See on this my detailed discussion in I. St, xiii. 265-269, where I call special attention to various differences in point of language between books I.-v. and vi.-ix.

¹⁴¹ The strong censure passed upon the residents on the seven western rivers in ix 3.1.24 must be ascribed

^{101, 103.}

Ráma Aupatasvini, Kaukústa, Máhitthi, Mudimbha* Audanva, Saumápau Mánutantavyau, Satyakáma Jábála, Śailáli, &c. Besides the Charakádhvaryus, Bhállayeva in particular is regularly censured, from which I conclude as already stated (p. 95), that the Bhállavi-Bráhmana should be reckoned among those of the Black Yajus. "cke," where these are found fault with, we should probably also understand (e.g., once for certain in the first kanda) the adherents of the Black Yajus. Once, however (in the eighth kánda), a reading of the Kánva school is quoted by "eke" and disputed. How the matter stands in the Bráhmana of the latter as to this passage, whether it finds fault with the reading of the Madhyamdina school. I am not able to say. A collection of passages of this kind would naturally be of peculiar interest.

The legends interspersed in such numbers throughout the Bráhmana have a special significance. In some of them the language is extremely antiquated, and it is probable therefore that before their incorporation into it they possessed an independent form. The following deserve special mention from their being treated in detail, viz., the legends of the Deluge and the rescue of Manu; of the emigration of Videgha Máthava from the Sarasvatí to the Sadánírá in the country of the Kosala-Videhas: of the restoration to youth of Chyavana by the Asvins at the request of his wife Sukanyá, the daughter of Śaryáta Mánava; of the contest between Kadrú and Suparní: of the love and separation of Purúravas and Urvasí, and others. Many of them reappear as episodes in the epic, in a metrical garb, and often very much altered. obvious that we have here a much more intimate connection with the epic than exists in the other Bráh-The names Valhika, Janamejaya, and Nagnajit have the most direct reference to the legend of the Mahá-Bhárata: as also the names already discussed above in connection with the Samhitá, Ambá, Ambiká, Ambáliká, Subhadrá, and the use there made of the words arjuna and phalguna. In any case, we must look for the explanation

dila, the Saumápau, Satyakáma,

^{*} Compare the Mutibhas in the Madhuki (or Paingya), and Kaushi-Aitar. Br.—Of the above, only Butaki are mentioned elsewhere.

of this in the circumstance, that this Brahmana substantially originated and attained its final shape among the tribes of the Kurupanchalas and the neighbouring Kosala-Videhas. The king of the latter, Janaka, who is represented in it as the chief patron of the sacred doctrine it embodies, bears the same name as the father of Sita and father-in-law of Rama, in the Ramayana. This is, however, the only point of contact with the Ramavana legend which can here be traced, and as the name Janaka seems to have belonged to the whole family, it also virtually disappears. Nevertheless I am inclined to identify the father of Sita with this exceptionally holy Janaka, being of opinion that Sita herself is a mere abstraction, and that consequently she had assigned to her the most renowned father possible. As regards the special relation in which the Brahmana stands to the legend of the Maha-Bharata, Lassen, it is well known, takes as the fundamental feature of the latter a conflict between the Kurus and the Pañchálas, ending in their mutual annihilation, the latter being led by the family of the Pandus, who came from the west. Now at the time of the Brahmana, we find the Kurus and the Panchalas still in full prosperity,* and also united in the closest bonds of friendship as one people † Consequently this internecine strife cannot yet have taken place. On the other hand, in the latest portions of the Brahmana, we find the prosperity, the sin, the expiation, and the fall of Janamejava Parikshita and his brothers Bhimasena. Ugrasena, and Srutasena, and of the whole family of the

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names. Janamejaya and his brothers, already mentioned, are represented either as great-grandsons of Kurn, or else as the great-grandsons of the Panduid Arjuna, at whose snake-sacrifice Vaisamnáyana-related the history of the

^{*} Though certainly in the last portions of the Br. the Kosala-Videhas seem to have a certain preponderance; and there had perhaps existed as early as the time of the Sambita (*ee p 114) a certain rivalry between the Kurus and Tahel-dias.

⁺ At least I am not able to offer another explanation of the word Kurupalichála; it is, moreover, noteworthy that no name of a ling of the Kurupalichálas is ever meutioned. Such names are quoted only for Kaurayya- or Pálichála-kings.

great struggle between the Kurus and the Pándus. Adopting the latter view, which appears to be the better warranted, from the fact that the part of the Mahá-Bhárata which contains it is written in prose, and exhibits a peculiarly ancient garb, the supposed great internecine conflict between the Kurus and the Panchalas, and the dominion of the Pándavas, must have been long past at the time of the Brahmana. How is this contradiction to be explained? That something great and marvellous had happened in the family of the Parikshitas, and that their end still excited astonishment at the time of the Bráhmana, has already been stated. But what it was we know not. After what has been said above, it can hardly have been the overthrow of the Kurus by the Panchálas; but at any rate, it must have been deeds of guilt; and indeed I am inclined to regard this as yet unknown 'something' as the basis of the legend of the Mahá-Bhárata.¹⁴⁴ To me it appears absolutely necessary to assume, with Lassen, that the Pándavas did not originally belong to the legend, but were only associated with it at a later time, 145 for not only is there no trace of them anywhere in the Bráhmanas or Sútras, but the name of their chief hero, Arjuna (Phalguna), is still employed here in the Satapatha-Bráhmana (and in the Samhitá), as a name of Indra; indeed he is probably to be looked upon as originally identical with Indra, and therefore destitute of any real existence. Lassen further (I. AK., i. 647, ff.) concludes, from what Megasthenes (in Arrian) reports of the Indian Heracles, his sons and his daughter $\hat{H}a\nu\delta a ia$, and also from other accounts in Curtius, Pliny, and Ptolemy,*. that at the time when Megasthenes wrote, the mythical, association of Krishna (?) with the Pandavas already ex-

¹⁴⁴ See Indian Antiquary, ii. 58 (1873). I may add the following, as it possibly has a bearing here. Vriddhadyumna Abhipratárina (see Ait. Br., iii. 48) was cursed by a Brahman on account of improper sacrifice, to the effect that: imam eva prati samaram Kuravah Kurukshetrách chyoshyanta iti, Śańkh., xv. 16. 12 (and so it came to pass). For the glorification of the Kauravya king Parikshit the four verses, Śańkh. Śr., xii. 17.

^{1-4 (}Ath., xx. 127. 7-10), serve; although in Ait. Br., vi. 22 (Śánkh. Br., xxx. 5), they are referred to 'fire' or 'year;' but see Gopatha-Br., xi. 12. Another legend respecting Janamejaya Párikshita is found in the Gopatha-Br., ii. 5.

¹⁴⁵ See my detailed discussion of this in *I. St.*, ii. 402-404.

^{*} Curtius and Pliny wrote in the first, Arrian and Ptolemy in the second century A.D.

isted. But this conclusion, although perhaps in itself probable, is at least not certain ;* and even if it were, it would not prove that the Pandavas were at that time already associated with the legend of the Kurus. And if we have really to assign the arrangement of the Madhyamdina recension (see p. 106) to about the time of Megasthenes, it may reasonably be inferred, from the lack of all mention of the Pandayas in it, that their association with the Kurus had not then been established; although, strictly speaking, this conclusion has weight not so much for the period when the arrangement of the work actually took place, as for the time to which the pieces arranged belong. As with the epic legends, so also do we find in the Satapatha-Bráhmana several points of contact with the legends of the Buddhists, on the one hand, and with the later tradition concerning the origin of the Samkhya doctrine, on the other. First, as regards the latter. Asuri, the name of one of its chief authorities, is at the same time the name of a teacher frequently mentioned in the Satapatha-Bráhmana. Again, though only in the Yainavalkiya-kanda. we have mention of a Kapya Patamchala of the country of the Madras as particularly distinguished by his exertions in the cause of Brahmanical theology; and in his name we cannot but see a reference to Kapila and Patamiali, the traditional founders of the Sámkhya and Yoga systems. As regards the Buddhist legends, the Sakyas of Kapilavastu (whose name may possibly be connected with the Siká-yanins of the tenth kánda, and the Sikáyanya of the es Gautamas, a

resented among

It is, moreover, the country of the Kosalas and Videhas that is to be looked upon as the cradle of Buddhism.—Svetaketu (son of Aruni), one of the teachers most frequently mentioned in the Satapatha-Bráhmapa, is with the Buddhists the name of one of the earlier births of Sákyamuni

The incest of Hercules with Hardala must certainly be traced to the incest of Prajápati and his daughter, so often touched on in the Bráhmanas. [That Vásudeva

and Arjuna occur together in Pan., . iv. 3. 98, cannot be considered as a proof of their being connected with each other; see L.St., xii. 349, ft.]

(see Ind. Stud., ii. 76, note).—That the magadha of the Samhitá may perhaps also be adduced in this connection is a point that has already been discussed (pp. 111, 112).—The words arhant (iii. 4. 1. 3, ff.), framana (Vrih. Ar., iv. 1. 22, as well as Taitt. Ar., ii. 7, beside tapasa), mahabrahmana* (Vrih. Ar., ii. 1. 19. 22), and pratibuddha, although by no means used in their Buddhistic technical sense, yet indicate how this gradually arose.—The name Chelaka also in the Bráhmana may possibly have some connection with the peculiarly Buddhistic sense attached to the word chela. Aiátasatru and Brahmadatta, on the contrary, are probably but namesakes of the two persons designated by the Buddhists under these names as contemporaries of Buddha (?). The same probably also applies to the Vátsíputríyas of the Buddhists and the Vátsíputras of the Vrih. Árany. (v. 5. 31), although this form of name, being uncommon, perhaps implies a somewhat closer connection. It is, however, the family of the Kátyáyanas, Kátyáyaníputras, which we find represented with special frequency among the Buddhists as well as in the Bráhmana (although only in its very latest portions). We find the first mention t of this name in the person of one of the wives of Yajnavalkya, who is called Kátyáyaní, both in the Madhu-kánda and the Yájnavalkíya-kánda; it also appears frequently in the lists of teachers, and almost the whole of the Sútras belong-

even earlier, i. 5. 3. 21, ii. 5. 4. 9. † With the surname Chaikitáneya Vrih. År. Mádhy., i. 1. 26.—In Mahá-Bhárata, xii. 5136, 8603, a Páñchályo rájá named Brahmadatta is mentioned, who reigned in Kámpílya.—Chaikitáneya is to be distinguished from Chaikitáyana in the Chhándogyopan., iii. 8.—[On a curious coincidence of a legend in the Vrihad-Ar. with a Buddhist legend,

* Beside mahárája, which is found

see I. St., iii. 156, 157.]

‡ In the tenth book of the Taitt.
År., Kátyáyana (instead of oni) is a name of Durgá; on this use see I.
St., ii. 192 [xiii. 422].—In the Ganapátha to Pánini, Kátyáyana is wanting. [But Kátyáyani is to be gathered from Pánini himself, iv. I. 18;

see I. St., v. 61, 63, 64. A Kátyáyaniputra Játúkarnya is quoted in the Sankh. Ar., viii. 10. Patamjali in the Mahabhashya mentions several Kátyas (I. St., xiii. 399, 407), and indeed the várttikakára directly belongs to this family. In no other Vedic texts have I found either the Katas or the Kátyas, Kátyáyanas, excepting in the pravara section appended at the end of the Asvalayana-Śrauta-Sútra, xii. 13–15, in which the Katas and the patronymic, Katya, are mentioned several times. The Kuru-Katas are cited in the gana 'Garga,' and the family of the Katas seems therefore to have been specially connected with the Kurus; see I. St., i. 227, 228.]

ing to the White Yajus bear this name as that of their

author.

The Satapatha-Brähmana has been commented in the Madhyamdina recension by Harisvamin and Sayana; but their commentaries are so far extant only in a fragmentary form. The Vrihad-Aranyaka has been explained by Dviveda Ganga (of Gujarát); and in the Kanva recension by Sankara, to whose commentary a number of other works by his pupils, &c., attach themselves As yet only

with Samkara's commentary and a gloss thereon.148

I now turn to the Sútras of the White Yajus. The first of these, the Śrauta-Sútra of Kátyáyana, consists of twenty-six adhyayas, which on the whole strictly observe the order of the Brahmana. The first eighteen correspond to its first nine kandas; the Sautramani is treated of in the nineteenth, the horse sacrifice in the twentieth adhyaya; the twenty-first contains the human, universal, and Manes sacrifices. The next three adhyayas refer, as before stated (p. 80), to the ceremonial of the Samaveda, to its several ckáhas, ahínas, and sattras; yet they rather specify these in the form of lists than present, as the other adhydyas do, a clear picture of the whole sacrificial proceedings. The twenty-fifth adhyáya treats of the práyaschittas, or expiatory ceremonies, corresponding to the first part of the twelfth kánda; and lastly, the twenty-sixth adhyáya contains the pravargya sacrifice, corresponding to the first part of the fourteenth kinda -Only a few teachers are cited by name, and among these are two belonging to authors of Sútras of the Black Yajus, viz., Laugákshi and Bháradvája; besides whom, only Játúkarnya, Vátsya, Bádari, Kása-

¹⁸⁸ And in very bad manuscripts ¹⁸⁶ Thelastfasciculus was published in 1855. A translation of the first look, and also of some legends epecully mentioned above, is printed in vol. 1. of my Induscle Streylen (1868).

¹⁴⁹ Roer's translation (1836) includes the commentary of the first adhydya; he also gives several extracts from it in the subsequent chapters.

kritsni, and Kárshnájini are named. We meet with the three last of these elsewhere only 149 in the Vedánta-Sútra of Bádaráyana, Bádari excepted, who appears also in the Mímáisá-Sútra of Jaimini. Vátsva is a name which occasionally occurs in the Vansas of the Satapatha-Bráhmana; 150 and the same applies to Játúkarnya, who appears in the Vansa of the Madhu- and Yajnavalkiya-kandas in the Kánva recension as a pupil of Asuráyana and of Yáska. (In the Mádhyamdina recension, another teacher intervenes between the last-named and Játúkarnya, viz., Bháradvája.) He is also mentioned in the Aitareva-Áranvaka. and repeatedly in the Pratisakhya-Sutra of the White Yajus. Besides these, "eke" are frequently quoted, whereby reference is made to other Śákhás. One passage gives expression to a certain hostility towards the descendants of the daughter of Atri (the Háleyas, Váleyas, Kaudreyas, Saubhreyas, Vámarathyas, Gopavanas); while the descendants of Atri himself are held in especial honour. A similar hostility is exhibited in other passages towards the descendants of Kanva, Kasyapa, and Kautsa; yet these three words, according to the commentaries, may also be taken as appellatives, kanva as "deaf," kasyapa as "having black teeth." (śyávadanta), and kautsa as "doing blamable things." The first adhydya is of peculiar interest, as it gives the paribháshás, or general rules for the sacrificial ceremonial. Otherwise this work, being entirely based upon the Bráhmana, and therefore in no way an independent production, contains but few data throwing light upon its probable age. Amongst such we may reckon in particular * the circumstance that the word vijaya, "conquest," sc. of the

149 Káśakritsni appears as a grammarian also; he is possibly even earlier than Páṇini; see I. St., ziii. 398, 413. On a Vedic commentator Káśakritsna, see above, pp. 42; 91.

* The use of mani, xx. 7. 1, to denote 101, may also be instanced as

pointing to later times; it belongs to the same class as agni = 3, bhi = 1, &c. [This is wrong; a little before, in xx. 5. 16, mention is made of 101 manis, and in xx. 7. 1 we have simply a reference back to this. We might rather cite gdyatrisampanna. &c., xx. 11. 21, ff., in the sense of 24, &c., but there is this material difference from the later use, that it is not gdyatris alone which means 24, but gdyatrisampanna.]

¹⁵⁰ In addition to this there is quoted in ix. 5. 1. 62 the opinion of a teacher bearing this name; a Vátsa is mentioned in the Aitar. Ár. and Saūkh. Ár.

points of the compass, is once used in the sense of "the points of the compass," themselves (xx. 4. 26), which evisor-probably yayas relative recess

in this kind of data. They treat, for instance, like the Sima-Sitras, of the sacrifices on the Sarasvatí, and also of the Vrátya-sacrifices, at which we find the Majadhadestop, brakmabandhu (xxii. 4. 22) occupying the same position as

in Latyayana.

The Kátyáyana-Sútra has had many commentators, as Vasoga. Phtribhiti, Karka (quoted by Sáyana, and therefore prior to him 159), Bhartriyajna, Sri-Ananta, Devayánika (or Yájnikadeva), and Mahádeva. The works of the three last, and that of Karka are, however, the only ones that works are that the tracks.

rm the third part of my o this Sutra a multitude

Ber Jassen, J. AK, i. 542. [According to the St. Peterburg Delionary, the word in the above passage should only mean, in Jun, the thing conquered, booty; 'but a reference to localify is made certain by the perallel passage, Léty, iz. of 17; eijicasy at everley, veget (yo yanya des vijino nyaje, as tarya, wo do not passage). The passage is a saya may be the passage lan anything by this passage.

211 This name must be read Takegopt; see my edition, Introd, p vil. 139 A Dhimrdyanazagotra Karlddhydpata occurs in an inscription published by Dowson in Journal R. A. S. 1, 283 (1865), of Sridottalmcalin (Practionardya), dated sum, 350

(but of what era!)

+ [They are, however, jncomplete, in part exceedingly so.] The carliest MS. hitherto known of the pathlysis of Ydjankaders, is dated sawat 1630.—I have given the order in which they are cited by consumerations and odust there were other commentators also preceding Yasego [Yasegopt]. In the Fort William [Yasegopt]. In the Fort William

Catalogue, under No. 742, a com-

Yasogon, Bharityana. They are so cited by Ananta, who himself seems to-have lived in the first half of the sixteenth century, provided be be really identical with the Standanantishyasohturudayayajin, whom Nariqana, the author of the Muhurtamitanda, mentions as his cher; see my Catalogue of the Berlin MSS, No. 879 Dera on i. O. 13 quotes a Nariqanathishya; might not Ananta's son be its author?

its 'This port was published 185650; Dervis Radidaut to hooks i.-v.,
as there given in full, also his commentary on books i. the extracts
from the scholls to books in.-zis,
are likewise staken from Dervis commentary; those to books n.-v., there
exhibit, as to style, some differences
from the original wording, resulting
from abbreviations; the extracts
for books xii-xxv. come from the
schollium of Rakskand from an ana-

Yajus also (according to the Charanavyúha) derived its name. The word Páraskara is used as a samjná, or proper name—but, according to the gana, to denote a district—in the Sútra of Panni; but I am unable to trace it in Vedic literature. To this Grihva-Sútra there are still extant a Paddhati by Vásudeva, a commentary by Jayaráma, and above all a most excellent commentary by Ramakrishna under the title of Samskura-ganapati, which ranks above all similar works from its abundant quotations and its very detailed and exhaustive handling of the various subjects. In the introduction, which deals with the Veda in general and the Yajurveda in particular, Rámakrishna declares that the Kanva school is the best of those belonging to the Yajus.-Under the name of Páraskara there exists also a Smriti-Sástra, which is in all probability based upon this Gribya-Sútra. Among the remaining Smriti-Sastras, too, there are a considerable number whose names are connected with those of teachers of the White Yajus; for instance, Yájnavalkya, whose posteriority to Manu quite corresponds to the posteriority of the White Yajus to the Black Yajus-and no doubt also to that of the Kátíya-Sútra to the Mánava-Sútra;—further, Kátyá-yana (whose work, however, as we saw, connects itself with the Samaveda), Kanva, Gautama, Sandilya, Jabah, and Parasara. The last two names appear among the schools of the White Yajus specified in the Charanavyuha, and we also find members of their families named in the Vansas of the Satapatha-Brahmana, where the family of the Parasaras is particularly often represented *

The Prátisákhya-Sútra of the White Yajus, as well as its Anukramani, names at its close Kátyáyana as its author. In the body of the work there is mention, first, of three grammarians, whom we also find cited in the Prátišákhya of the Rik, in Yáska, and in Pánini, viz., Sákatáyana, Sákalya, and Gárgya; next, of Kásyana, likewise mentioned by Pánini; and, lastly, of Dálbhya, Játúkarnya, Saunaka (the author of the Rik-Prátišákhya), Aupaśny,

See I. St., i. 156.] Pánivi, iv. cants. [The Phicharmo liblisharah 3, 110 (a rule which possibly does are mentioned in the Mahdibáshya not belong to him, attributes to a slo, and besides a Rahpa by Parif-Parifarya a Dhishin-Satra, t.c., a sara; see I. St., xui. 340, 445]

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^{*} Among them tin, krit, taddhita, and upadha, terms quite agreeing with Panini's terminology.

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The Yajus recension of the three works called Vedángas, viz., Śikshá, Chhandas, and Jyotisha, has already been dis-

cussed (p. 60) †

We come now to the Atharraveda.

The Samhitá of the Atharvaveda contains in twenty Lándas 158 and thirty-eight prapáthakas nearly 760 hymns and about 6000 verses. Besides the division into prapathakas, another into anurakas is given, of which there are

159 This division of the Ath, S.

^{*} Published together with the fifth adhydya, and the beginning of the work, in my edition of the Vaja-saneyi-Sambita, introduction, pp. lv -lvui.

t For particulars I refer to my Catalogue of the Berlin MSS, pp. 96-100 [and to my editions, already mentioned, of these three tracts].

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some ninety. The division into parvans, mentioned in the thirteenth book of the Satapatha-Bráhmana, does not appear in the manuscripts; neither do they state to what school the existing text belongs. As, however, in one of the Parisishtas to be mentioned hereafter (the seventh), the richas belonging to the ceremony there in question are quoted as Painnaládá mantráh, it is at least certain that there was a Samhitá belonging to the Paippaláda school. and possibly this may be the Samhitá now extant. 159 contents and principle of division are at present unknown 160 in their details. We only know generally that "it principally contains formulas intended to protect against the baneful influences of the divine powers,* against diseases and noxious animals; cursings of enemies, invocations of healing herbs; together with formulas for all manner of occurrences in every-day life, prayers for protection on iourneys, luck in gaming, and the like" †-all matters for which analogies enough are to be found in the hymns of the Rik-Samhitá. But in the Rik the instances are both less numerous, and, as already remarked in the introduction (p. 11), they are handled in an entirely different manner, although at the same time a not inconsiderable portion of these songs reappears directly in the Rik, particularly in the tenth mandala.* As to the ceremonial for which the hymns of the Atharvan were used, what corre-

published by Roth, Der Atharvaveda in Kashmir (1875), this is not the case; the extant Samhitá seems rather to belong to the school of the Saunakas, whilst the Paippaláda-Samhitá has come down to us in a second recension, still preserved in Kashmir.

vii. is according to the number of verses in the different pieces; these have, on an average, four verses in book i., five in ii., six in iii., seven in iv., eight to eighteen in v., three in vi., and only one in vii. Books viii.—xiii. contain longer pieces. As to the contents, they are indiscriminately mixed up. Books xiv.—xviii., on the contrary, have all a uniform subject-matter; xiv. treats of mar-

riage, xv. of the glorification of Vrátya, xvi., xvii. of certain conjurations, xviii. of burial and the festival of the Manes. Book xix is a mixture of supplementary pieces, part of its text being in a rather corrupt condition; book xx. contains,—with one peculiar exception, the so-called kuntapasukta,—only complete hymns addressed to Indra, which are borrowed directly and without change from the Rigveda. Neither of these two last books is noticed in the Atharva-Prátisakhya (see note 167), and therefore they did not belong to the original text at the time of this work.

^{*} Of the stars, too, i.e., of the lunar asterisms.

[†] See Roth, Zur Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, p. 12.

sponds to it in the other Vedas is found, not in the Śrauta-Sútras, but with few exceptions in the Grihya-Sútras only: and it appears therefore (as I have likewise already remarked) that this ceremonial in its origin belonged rather to the people proper than to the families of priests. in the Shadvinsa-Brahmana and in the Sama-Sutras we actually meet with a case (see p. 78) where an imprecatory ceremony is borrowed from the Vrátínas, or Aryans who had not adopted the Brahmanical organisation, we may further reasonably conjecture that this was not a solitary instance; and thus the view naturally presents itself that, though the Atharva-Samhita originated for the most part in the Brahmanical period, yet songs and formulas may also have been incorporated into it which properly belonged to these unbrahmanical Arvans of the west.* And as a matter of fact, a very peculiar relation to these tribes is unmistakably revealed in the fifteenth kanda, where the Supreme Being is expressly called by the name of Vratya,161 and is at the same time associated with the attributes given in the Samayeda as characteristics of the Vratvas. In the same way, too, we find this word Vrátya employed in the Atharva-Upanishads in the sense of "pure in himself" to denote the Supreme Being. The mention of the magadia in the Vratya-book, and the possibility that this word may refer to anti-brahmanical Buddhist teachers, have already been discussed (p. 112). In a passage communicated by Roth, op. c. p. 38, special, and hostile, notice is taken of the Angas and Magadhas in the East, as well as of the Gandháris, Mújavants, Súdras, Mahávrishas, and Vallukas in the North-West, between which tribes therefore the Brahmanical district was apparently shut in at the time of the composition of the song in question. Intercourse with the West appears to have been more active than with the East, five of the races settled in the West being mentioned, and two only of those belonging to the

^{*} In the Vishnu-Purana the Suindhavas, Sundhavayanas are mentioned as a school of the Atharvan.

¹st This explanation of the contents of this book and of the word writing is breed upon its employment in the Prainopanishad 2, 7, and in

the Chulkopanishad, v. 11 (see I. St., 1 445, 446, 1x. 15, 16). According to Roth, on the contrary (see above n. 12, note) the very contrary

in ,,, ..., ...,

East. In time it will certainly be possible, in the Atharva-Samhitá also, to distinguish between pieces that are older and pieces that are more modern, although upon the whole geographical data are of rare occurrence. Its language exhibits many very peculiar forms of words, often in a very antique although prákritized shape. It contains, in fact, a mass of words used by the people, which from lack of occasion found no place in the other branches of the literature. The enumeration of the lunar asterisms in the nineteenth kánda begins with krittiká, just as in the Taittiríya-Samhitá, but otherwise it deviates considerably from the latter, and gives for the most part the forms of the names used in later times. 162 No direct determination of date, however, can be gathered from it, as Colebrooke imagined. Of special interest is the mention of the Asura Krishna * Kesin, from the slaying of whom Krishna (Angirasa?, Devakiputra) receives the epithets of Keśihan, Keśisúdana in the Epic and in the Puránas. In those hymns which appear also in the Rik-Samhitá (mostly in its last mandala), the variations are often very considerable, and these readings seem for the most part equally warranted with those of the Rik. There are also many points of contact with the Yajus.

The carliest mention of the Atharvan-songs occurs under the two names "Atharvanas" and "Angirasas," names which belong to the two most ancient Rishi-families, or to the common ancestors of the Indo-Aryans and the Persa-Aryans, and which are probably only given to these songs in order to lend all the greater authority and holiness to the incantations, &c., contained in them.† They are also often specially connected with the ancient family of the Bhrigus. Whether we have to take the "Athar-

¹⁶² The piece in question proves, on special grounds, to be a later supplement; see *I. St.*, iv. 433, n.

^{*} An Asura Krishna we find even in the Rik-Samhitá, and he plays a prominent part in the Buddhist legends (in which he seems to be identified with the Krishna of the epic (!?).

[†] See I. St., i. 295, ff. That these names indicate any Persa-Aryan influence is not to be thought of;

and if, according to the Bhavishya-Purána (Wilson in Reinaud's Mém. sur l'Inde, p. 394), the Parsís (Magas) have four Vedas, the Vada (! Yaśna?), Viśvavada (Viśpered), Vidut (Vendidad), and ūgirasa, this is a purely Indian view, though indeed very remarkable.

¹⁶³ See my essay Zwei vedische Texte über Omina und Portenta, pp. 346-348.

vánas" in the thirtieth book of the Váj. Samhitá as Atharvan-songs is not yet certain; but for the period to which the eleventh, thirteenth, and fourteenth books of the Satapatha-Brahmana, as well as the Chhandogvopanishad and the Taittiriva-Aranyaka (ii and viii), belong, the existence of the Atharvan-songs and of the Atharvayeda is fully established by the mention of them in these works. The thirteenth book of the Satapatha-Brohmana even mentions a division into parvans.* which, as already remarked, no longer appears in the manuscripts. In the eighth book of the Taittiriya-Aranyaka, the adesa, i.c., the Brahmana, is inserted between the three other Vedas and the "Atharvangirasas." Besides these notices, I find the Atharvaveda, or more precisely the "Atharvanikas," only mentioned in the Nidána-Sútra of the Sámaveda (and in Pánini). The names, too, which belong to the schools of the Atharvaveda appear nowhere in Vedic literature, with the exception perhaps of Kausika; still, this patronymic does not by any means involve a special reference to the Atharvan T Another name, which is, however, only applied to the Atharvaveda in the later Atharvan-writings themselves, viz., in the Parisishtas, is "Brahma-veda," This is explained by the circumstance that it claims to be the Veda for the chief sacrificial priest, the Brahman,164 while the other Vedas are represented as those of his assistants only, the Hotar, Udgátar, and Adhvaryu,

* Corresponding to the sultas, anuralas, and dasats of the Rik, Yajus, and Saman respectively.

f Members of the family of the Atharvans are now and then menlyoned; thus especially Dadbyanch Ath., Kabandha Ath., whom the Vishpu-Puran designates as a pupil of Sumantu (the latter we met in the Gridya-Sútras of the Rik, see above, p. 57), and others.

2. It seems that even in later times the claim of the Atharvan to rank as Yeda was disputed. Yajanavalkya (101) mentions the two sepurately, redditarra; though in another passage (1.44) the "Athar-thagicasas" occur along with Rich, Suman, and Yajus. In Manute Code we only once find the irruir

atherediscirceth, as magic formulas; in the Ridmyan i likewise only once different and the latter passage I everlocked in J. St. 4. 297). [In Patamjal's Malubbishya, however, the Athervan is cited at the head of the Vedas (as in the Rig-Gilyan, see above, p. 58), occasionally even as their only representative; see

J. St., xilli. 431-32.1
164 This explanation of the name, though the traditional one, is yet very likely erroneous; by Brahma-veda (a name which is first mertioned in the Sinklic Gribya, I. 10) we have rather to understand "the Veda of brahmathi," of prayers, i.e., here in the nurrower sense of "incinations", (St. Peterslung Dict.]

—a claim which has probably no other foundation than the circumstance, cleverly turned to account, that there was, in fact, no particular Veda for the Brahman, who was bound to know all three, as is expressly required in the Kaushitaki-Brahmana (see I. St., ii. 305). Now the weaker these pretensions are, the more strongly are they put forward in the Atharvan-writings, which indeed display a very great animosity to the other Vedas. Towards one another, too, they show a hostile enough spirit; for instance, one of the Parisishtas considers a Bhargava, Paippalada, and Saunaka alone worthy to act as priest to the king,* while a Mauda or Jalada as purohita would only bring misfortune.

The Atharva-Samhitá also, it seems, was commented upon by Sáyana. Manuscripts of it are comparatively rare on the Continent. Most of them are distinguished by a peculiar mode of accentuation.† A piece of the Samhitá of some length has been made known to us in text and translation by Aufrecht (I. St., i. 121–140); besides this,

only some fragments have been published. 165

The Bráhmana-stage is but very feebly represented in the Atharvaveda, viz., by the *Gopatha-Bráhmana*, which, in the manuscript with which I am acquainted (E. I. H., 2142), comprises a púrva- and an uttara-portion, each containing five prapáthakas; the MS., however, breaks off with the beginning of a sixth (i.e., the eleventh) prapá-

† Dots are here used instead of lines, and the svarita stands mostly beside, not above, the akshara.

165 The whole text has been

Kashmir (1875). In the Gopatha-Bráhmana (i. 29), and in Patamjali's Mahábháshya (see I. St., xiii. 433; although, according to Burnell, Introd. to Vansa-Brahmana, p. xxii., the South Indian MSS. omit the quotation from the Atharvaveda), the beginning of the Samhitá is given otherwise than in our text, as it commences with i. 6, instead of i. 1. It is similarly given by Bhandarkar, Indian Antiquary, iii. 132; and two MSS. in Haug's possession actually begin the text in this manner; see Haug's Brahman und die Brahmanen, p. 45.—Burnell (Introd. to Vansa-Br., p. xxi.) doubts whether the Ath. S. was commented by Sáyrna.

^{*} Yájuavalkya (i. 312) also requires that such an one be well yersed atharvángirase.

edited long since (1855-56) by Roth and Whitney. The first two books have been translated by me in I. St., iv. 393-430, and xiii. 129-216, and the nuptial formulas contained in the fourteenth book, together with a great variety of love charms and similar formulas from the remaining books, ibid., v. 204-266. For the criticism of the text see Roth's tracts, Ueber den Atharvaveda (1856), and Der Atharvaveda in

thala. In one of the Parisishtas the work is stated to have originally contained too praphthalas. The contents are entirely unknown to me. According to Colebrooke's remarks on the subject, Atharvan is here represented as a Prajapati who is appointed by Brahman as a Demiurge, and this is, in fact, the position which he occupies in the Parisishtas and some of the Upanishads. The division of the year into twelve (or thirteen) months consisting of 360 days, and of each day into thirty muhurtas, which Colebrooke points out as remarkable, equally appears in the Brahmanas of the Yajus, &c. 196

Departing from the order hitherto followed I will add here what I have to say about the Sătras of the Atharvaveda, as these are the only other writings which have reference to the Samhita, whereas the remaining parts of the Atharvan-literature, corresponding to the Aranyakas of the other Vedas, have no reference to it whatever.

In the first place, I have to mention the Saunakiya chatur-adhydyika, 1999 a kind of Prátisákhya for the Atharva-Samhitá, in four adhydyas, which might possibly go back to the author of the Rik-Prátisákhya, who is also mentioned in the Prátisákhya of the White Yajus. The Saunakas are named in the Charanavyúha as a school of the Atharvan, and members of this school are repeatedly mentioned in the Upanishads. The work bears here and there a more generally grammatical character than is the case with the remaining Prátisákhyas. Sáka-

MS. is: chaturddhydydda.

Jas M. Muller first gave us some information as to the Gopatha-Bridhaman in list History of A. S. L., P. 445-455; and now the work itself in absen published by Higherian Lifa Mutra and Harnchundra Yidydbhadainn in the Bill. Indica (1870-72). According to this it consists ainn in the Bill. Indica (1870-72), according to this it consists of the Conference of the Confer

of which appear in the same form as in the Satapatha-Bridmana, ai, axi, and are therefore probably simply copied from it. The second half contains a livef exposition of a variety of points connected with the Sranta ritual, specially adapted, as it seems, from the Altar. Br. Very remarkable is the assumption in it. 25 of a deshapti, lend of evil (11), who at the beginning of the Dvt. pract. Syugh; is supposed to have acted as "published Addelsh." This reminds us of, and doubtless rests upon, the Mara of the Duddhists.

1855 The form of rames in the

To this Sútra belong further five so-called Kalpas: the Nalshatra-Kalpa, an astrological compendium relating to the lunar mansions, in fifty kandlikas; the Sánti-Kalpa, in twenty-five kandlikas, which treats likewise of the adoration of the lunar mansions, 100 and coutains prayers addressed to them; the Vilána-Kalpa, the Samhild-Kalpa, and the Abhichāra-Kalpa The Vishmu-Purána and the Chamanavyiha, to be presently mentioned, same, instead of the last, the Angirasa-Kalps. Further, seventy-four smaller Parisishtas 10 also belong to it, mostly composed in Stokas, and in the form of dialogues, like the Puránas. The contents are Grihya-subjects of various kinds; astro-

orrea the

also a Charana-vyúha, which states the number of the richas in the Atharva-Samhitá at 12,380, that of the parydyas (hymns) at 2000; but the number of the Kansikoktáni parisishtáni only at 70. Of teachers who are mentioned the

Gautama, Kámkáyana, Karmagha, Pippaláda, Máhaki, Garga, Gárgya, Vriddhagarga, Átreya, Padmayoni, Krausliluki. We meet with many of these names again in the astrological literature proper.

I now turn to the most characteristic part of the literature of the Atharvan, viz., the *Upanishāds*. Whilst the Upanishāds αa^{γ} $\dot{\epsilon} E \alpha \dot{\gamma} \nu$ so called, of the remaining Yedas all belong to the later, or even the latest, portions of these

¹⁷⁹ An account of the contents of both texts is given in my second essay on the Nakshatras, pp. 390-393 (1862); Haug in I. SL, 1x. 174, inentions an Aranyak-Jyothah, different from the Nakshatra-Kalpa.

¹⁷¹ Haug, 1 c., speaks of 72; amongst them is found a Nighantu, which is wanting in the Berlin Ms. Compare the Nigama-Parrishta of the White Yajus — Texts of this

kind are quoted even in the Maha-

bhásha; see I. St., xiii. 463.

172 One of the Parisishtas relating to this subject has been communcated by me in I. St., x. 317, ff.; it is the fifty-first of the series. The state-

^{.... 410}

Vedas, they at least observe a certain limit which they never transgress, that is to say, they keep within the range of inquiry into the nature of the Supreme Spirit, without serving sectarian purposes. The Atharvan Upanishads, on the contrary, come down as far as the time of the Puranas, and in their final phases they distinctly enter the lists in behalf of sectarian views. Their number is as vet undetermined. Usually only fifty-two are enumerated. But as among these there are several which are of quite modern date, I do not see why we should separate these fifty-two Upanishads from the remaining similar tracts which, although not contained in the usual list. nevertheless call themselves Upanishads, or Atharvopanishads; more especially as this list varies in part according to the different works where it is found, and as the manuscripts mix up these fifty-two with the remaining Upanishads indiscriminately. Indeed, with regard to the Upanishad literature we have this peculiar state of things, that it may extend down to very recent times, and consequently the number of writings to be reckoned as belonging to it is very considerable. Two years ago, in the second part of the Indische Studien, I stated the number at ninety-five, including the Upanishads contained in the older Vedas." The researches instituted by Walter Elliot in Masulipatam among the Telingana Brahmans on this subject have, however, as Dr. Roer writes to me, yielded the result that among these Brahmans there are

vopanishad) being different from the former.—The number now here finally arrived at—ninety-six—is obtained (1) by the addition of six new Upanishads, viz., the Bhállavi-Upanishad, the Samvartop., the second Mahopanishad, and three of the Upanishads contained in the Atharvasiras (Ganapati, Súrya, Deví); (2) by the omission of two, the Rudropanishad and the Atharvaníya-Rudropanishad, which are possibly identical with others of those cited; and (3) by counting the Mahánáráyanopanishad as only one, whereas Colebrooke counts it as two.

^{*} This number is wrong; it ought to be ninety-three. I there counted the Anandavalli and Bhriguvalli twice, first among the twenty-three Atharropanishads omitted by Anquetil, and then among the nine Upanishads borrowed from the other Vedas which are found in his work. The number would further have to , be reduced to ninety-two, since I cite Colebrooke's Amritavindu and Anquetil's Amritanáda as distinct Upanishads, whereas in point of fact they are identical; but then, on the other hand, two Upanishads identified by me ought to be kept distinct, viz., Colebrooke's Pranagnihotra and Anguetil's Pranou, the latter (Prana-

123 Upanishads actually extant; and if we include those which they do not possess, but which are contained in my list just referred to, the total is raised to 147. A list of these 123 is given in two of them, viz., in the Mahávák-yamuktávali and in the Muktikopanishad, and is exactly the same in both. According to the statement given above, there must be among these 123 fifty-two† in all which are wanting in my own list, and these include the two names just mentioned.—A Persian translation made in 1656 of fifty Upanishads is extant in Anquetil du Perron's Latin rendering.

If now we attempt to classify the Upanishads so far known, the most ancient naturally are those (1-12) which are found in the three older Vedas only 1 have already remarked that these never pursue sectarian nims. A seeming—but only a seeming—exception to thus is the Satarvadrija; for although the work has in fact been used for sectarian purposes, it had originally quite a different significance, which had nothing to do with the misapplication of it afterwards made; originally, indeed, it was not an Upanishad at all \$A\$ real exception, however, is the Sectastacaropanishad (13), which is in any case wrongly classed with the Black Yajus; it is only from its

having incorporated many passages of the latter that it has

and date as the Kaivalyopanishad. Nor can the *Haitráyana-Upanishad* (14) reasonably claim to be ranked with the Black

been foisted in here.

Subditional, 889 Journas As. coc. Eury, 1851, p. 607, f., 1cS names are d rectly cited (and of these 9S are at adject ingly in Taylor's Cutations (1964) of the Oriental MSS. of Fort St. George, p. 457-474). But to these other names have to be added which are there omitted; see I. St., ii. 324-326. The siphale-t'call list published by M. Muller in Z. D. M. G. Xii. 137-155 (1855), brings the number up to 149 (170, Lurnell, Irden Antiquery, u. 257)

Since then many new names have been brought to our knowledge by the Catalogues of MSS, published by Burnell, Bubler, Kielborn, Righendri Ldfa Mitra, Haug (Brahman und die Brahmann, pp. 29-31), &c.; so that at present I count 235 Upanishad, habby identical with other, as in many cases the names alone are at present known to E.I.

It belongs to about the same rank

** Namely, Aitareya, Kaushitaki, Yashkala, Chhdudogya, Sataruiriya, Skehdralli or Taitt. Samhitoyanishad, Chhdualeya (1), Tadeya, Sivasamkalya, Purushasükta, I.G. Vri-

had-Aranyaka. § See on this I. St , il. 14-47.

According to the previous note, only 145.

Yajus; it belongs rather, like the Śvetáśvataropanishad, only to the Yoga period. Still it does not, at least in the part known to me, 173 pursue any sectarian aim (see pp. 96–99).

Apart from the two last-named Upanishads, the transition to the Atharvopanishads is formed on the one hand by those Upanishads which are found in one of the other three Vedas, as well as in a somewhat modified form in an Atharvan-recension, and on the other hand by those Upanishads of which the Atharvan-recension is the only one extant, although they may have formerly existed in the other Vedas as well. Of the latter we have only one instance, the Káṭhaka-Upanishad (15, 16); of the former, on the contrary, there are several instances (17–20), viz., Kcna (from the Sámaveda), Bhriguvallí, Ánandavallí, and Brihannáráyana (Taitt. Ár., viii.—ix.).

The Atharvopanishads, which are also distinguished externally by the fact that they are mostly composed in verse, may themselves be divided into three distinct classes, which in their beginnings follow the earlier Upanishads with about equal closeness. Those of the first class continue directly to investigate the nature of Atman, or the Supreme Spirit; those of the second deal with the subject of absorption (yoga) in meditation thereon, and give the means whereby, and the stages in which, men may even in this world attain complete union with Atman; and lastly, those of the third class substitute for Atman some one of the many forms under which Siva and Vishnu, the two principal gods, were in the course of

time worshipped.

Before proceeding to discuss these three classes in their proper order, I have to make some observations on the Atharvan-recensions of those Upanishads which either belong at the same time to the other Vedas also, or at any

rate originally did so.

The Atharvan-text of the Kenopanishad, in the first place, differs but very little from its Sáman-text. The reason why this Upanishad has been incorporated into the Atharvan collection seems to be the fact that Umá Haimavatí is here (and for the first time) mentioned, as she

¹⁷³ In the remaining parts also there is nothing of the kind to be found.

was probably understood in the sense of the Siva sects With the Atharvan-text both of the Anandayalli and of the Bhriguvalli * I am unacquainted. Of the Brihannaravanon, t also, which corresponds to the Narayaniyon, of the Taitt. Aranyaka, only a few data are known to me: these, however, sufficiently show that the more ancient and obscure forms have here throughout been replaced by the corresponding later and regular ones.1-The two Katharallis, for the most part in metrical form, are extant in the Atharvan-text only.§ The second is nothing but a supplement to the first, consisting as it does almost exclusively of quotations from the Vedas, intended to substantiate more fully the doctrines there set forth The first is based upon a legend (see pp. 92, 93) related in the Taitt. Brahmana fiii, 11, 81. Nachiketas, the son of Aruni asks Death for a solution of his doubt whether man exists after death or not. After much reluctance, and after holding out enticements of all kinds, which Nachiketas withstands. Death at length initiates him into the mystery of existence. Life and death, he says, are but two different phases of development; true wisdom consists in the perception of identity with the Supreme Spirit, whereby men are elevated above life and death. The exposition in this first part is really impressive: the diction, too, is for the most part antique. A few passages, which do not harmonise at all with the remainder, seem either to have been inserted at a later time, or else, on the contrary, to have been retained

^{*} Two lists of the Atharvopanishads in Chambera's Collection (see my Catalogue, p. 95) cite after these tno rallis (39, 40), also a madhyaralli and an uttararalli (41, 42)!

two Upanishads.

Thus we have eisasarja instead of 1 ya-cha-sarja ; Kanyatkumarim 111stead of "ri; Katyayanyai ustead of oyanaya, &c.

^{\$} See 1. St , ii 195, ff , where the various translations and editions are cited. Since then this Upanishad has appeared in a new edition, with Simhara's commentary, in the Bibl. Indea, vol. vin., edited by Dr. Roer [and translated in vol xv.]

Two other names, which are given to the father of Nachiketas, viz , Auddilaki and Vajasravas, conflict with the usual accounts, Vajasiavasa appears also in the passage above referred to of the Taittiriya-Brahmana; whether Auddilaki does so likewise I am unable to say. [Auddálaki is nanting in the T. Br., as also the whole passage itself.] Benfey (in the Gottinger Gelehite Anzeigen, January 1832, P. 129) suggests that we should refer Auddilaki Aruni to Nachiketas : but the incompatibility of the two names is not thereby removed. Armins Uddilaka, and Auddilaki is Armers

from a former exposition drawn up more for a liturgical purpose. Its polemics against those holding different opinions are very sharp and bitter. They are directed against tarka, "doubt," by which the Samkhyas and Bauddhas are here probably intended. The sacredness of the word om as the expression for the eternal position of things is very specially emphasised, a thing which has not occurred before in the same way. The gradation of the primeval principles (in iii. 10, 11) exactly corresponds to the system of the deistical Yoga, whereas otherwise the exposition bears a purely Vedántic character.

Of the Atharvopanishads proper the Mundaka- and Praśna-Upanishads (21, 22) connect themselves most closely with the Upanishads of the older Vedas and with the Vedánta doctrine; ¹⁷⁴ indeed, in the Vedánta-Sútra of Bádaráyana reference is made to them quite as often as to these others. The Mundaka-Upanishad, mostly in verse, and so called because it "shears" away, or frees from, all error, is very like the Káthakop. with regard to doctrine and style; it has, in fact, several passages in common with it. At the outset it announces itself as an almost direct revelation of Brahman himself. For Angiras, who communicates it to Saunaka, has obtained it from Bháradvája Satyaváha, and the latter again from Angir,* the pupil of Atharvan, to whom it was revealed by Brah-

following Up. to other Śákhás. But Náráyana, with whom, as regards the order of the first twenty-eight names, Colebrooke agrees in the main (from this point their statements differ), also quotes the Saunakagranthavistara for the Brahmavindu No. 18, and the śakha Śaunakavartitá for the Atmopanishad No. 28, as authority for these numbers, or places, of the two Upanishads. The Gopálatápani, however, is marked by him as the fortysixth 'Atharva-Paippale,' and the Vásudevopanishad as the forty-ninth 'kshiidragranthagane;' see Rajendra Lála Mitra, Notices of Sanskrit *MSS.*, i. 18 (1870). * Angir is a name which occurs

nowhere else.

¹⁷⁴ The list of the Atharvopanishads begins, as a rule, with the Mundakopanishad; and, according to the statements in Narayanabhatta's scholium on the smaller Ath. · Upanishads now being edited (since 1872) in the Bibl. Indica by Rámamaya Tarkaratna, a settled order of these Upanishads must still have been in existence in the time of Núrifyanabhatta, since he denotes the individual Upanishads as, c.g., the seventh, the eighth, &c., reckoning from the Mundaka. This order is occasionally ascribed by him to the Saunaka-school. Compare as to this the remarks of Colebrooke, Misc. Ess., i. 93, according to which the first fifteen Upanishads only would belong to the Saunakiyas, and the

man himself. Shortly afterwards, Vedic literature is opposed, as the inferior science, to speculation. The former is stated to consist of the four Vedas, and of the six Vedángas, which are singly enumerated. scripts here insert mention of the itihasa-purana-nyaya-mimlinsa-dharmasa-trani; but this is evidently a later Such additions are also found in other passages of this Upanishad in the manuscripts. This enumeration (here occurring for the first time) of the different Vedángas is of itself sufficient to show that at that time the whole material of the Vedas had been systematically digested, and that out of it a new literature had arisen, which no longer belongs to the Vedic, but to the following period. We may further conclude from the mention of the Treta in the course of the work that the Yuga-system also had already attained its final form. On the other hand, we here find the words kálí (the dark one) and karálí (the terrible one) still reckaned among the seven tongues of fire, whereas in the time of the dramatic poet Bhayabhuti (eighth century A.D.) they are names of Durga—the wife of ho under these

orship. Since · the transition

from the former meaning to the latter, the Mundakop. must be separated by a very wide interval from the date of Bhavabhuti, -a conclusion which follows besides from the circumstance that it is on several occasions turned to account in the Vedánta-Sútra, and that it has been commented by Samkara .- The Prasnopanishad, in prose, seems to be borrowed from an Atharva-Brahmana, viz, that of the Pippalada-school.* It contains the instruction by Pippalada of six different teachers, amongst whom the to the

> idarbbi mrse of

In the colophons, at least, it is Pippalida is probably to be traced once so described; by Samkara, too, at the beginning of his commentary, it is called brifkmona, although this proves but little, since with him all the Upanishads he comments para as frute and bruhmana .- The name 30.

the work Hiranyanábha, a prince of the Kośalas, is also mentioned.—the same doubtless who is specially extolled in the Puranas. As in the Mundakopan, so here also some interpolated words are found which betray themselves as such by the fact that they are passed over by Samkara in his commentary. They refer to Atharvan himself, and to the half mátrá (mora), to which the word on, here appearing in its full glory, is entitled in addition to its three moræ (a. u. m), and are evidently a later addition by some one who did not like to miss the mention of these two subjects in an Atharvopanishad, as in these they otherwise invariably occur. Both Mundaka and Prasna have been several times edited and translated see I. St., i. 280, ff., 439, ff., again recently by Dr. Roer in vol. viii, of the Bibliotheca Indica together with Samkara's commentary. 175—The name of Pippalada is borne by another Upanishad, the Garbha-Upanishad (23), which I add here for this reason, although in other respects this is not quite its proper place. contents differ from those of all the other Upanishads, and relate to the human body, to its formation as embryo and the various parts of which it is composed, and the number and weight of these. The whole is a commentary on a trishtubh strophe prefixed to it, the words of which are passed in review singly and further remarks then subjoined. mention of the names of the seven musical notes of the present day, as well as of the weights now in use (which are found besides in Varáha Mihira), brings us to a tolerably modern date; so also the use of Devadatta in the sense of Caius. A few passages in which, among other things, mention is made, for instance, of Náráyana as Supreme Lord, and of the Samkhya and Yoga as the means of attaining knowledge of him, reappear in the fourteenth book—a supplementary one—of Yáska's Nirukti. Whether Śaṃkara expounded this Upanishad is as yet uncertain. It is translated in Ind. Stud., ii. 65-71. 176—In the Brahmopanishad also (24), Pippaláda appears, here with the title bhagaván Angirás; he is thus identified with the latter, as the authority for the particular

¹⁷⁵ Roer's translation is published in vol. xv. of the *Bibl. Indica* (1853).

¹⁷⁶ Edited with Narayana's com- "mí!) mentary in the Bibliotheca Indica, tathá.

^{1872;} in his introduction described as pañchakhandá 'shṭamán (read "mī!) Mundát Paippaládábhidhá tathá

dective here taught which he imparts to Saunaka (makáśala), exactly as is the case in the Mundakopanishad. There is, for the rest, a considerable difference between this Upanishad II and the Mundaka and Praśna; it belongs more to the Yoga-Upanishads properly so called. It consists of two sections: the first, which is in prose, treats, in the first place, of the majesty of Atman; and later on, in its last portion, it alleges Brahman, Vishnu, Rudra, and Akshara to be the four padas (feet) of the aircanam brahma; the first eleven of the nuneteen verses of the second section discuss the subject of the Yogin being allowed to lay aside his yajnoparila, or sacred thread, as he stands in the most intimate relation to the sature, or

Svetasvataropanisnau, niumakopanisma,... nishads, and again describe the majesty of the One.-The Mandakyopanishad (25-28) is reckoned as consisting of four Upanishads, but only the prose portion of the first of these, which treats of the three and a half matras of the word om, is to be looked upon as the real Mandukyopanishad, all the rest is the work of Gaudapada,* whose pupil Govinda was the teacher of Samkara; it dates therefore from about the seventh century A.D. Similarly, there are two works by Samkara himself specified among the Upamshads, viz., the Aptarajrasúchí (29), in prose, and the Tripurt (30), likewise in prose; both composed in a Vedanta sense. The former treats at the outset of what makes a Bráhmana a Bráhmana; it is not játi (birth), rarna (colour), panditya (learning); but the Brahmavid (he who knows Brahman) is alone a Brahmana.† Then it passes to the different definitions of moksha (liberation),

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In Edited with Narayan's comm. in Bill Ind. 1873; in the introduction described as chatushlanadd datami; the two sections of the text seem to have been transposed in some of the MSS.

As such, it has been commented on by Samkara under the title dyamahistra. For particulars see f. St., ii. 100-109. [Roer has published the

entire Mandúkpopanishad together with Sanikara's comm in Bill. Ind. vol. vin., also a translation of sect. I in vol. xr.]

[†] This portion has been used by a Buddinst (Airaghosha), almost hterally, against the system of caste in general, in the tract of the same title which is given by Gildemeister, Bill. S., Pract. p. vs. not.; see also

stating the only correct one to be the perception of the oneness of jiva (the individual soul) and parameśvara (the All-Soul), and lastly, distinctly rejecting all sects, it expounds the two highly important words tat (the Absolute) and tvam (the Objective). The Tripuri treats of the relation of Atman to the world, and stands as fourth prakarana in a series of seven little Vedánta writings attributed to Śamkara. 178 The Sarvopanishatsáropanishad (31), in prose, may be considered as a kind of catechism of these doctrines; its purpose is to answer several queries prefixed to it as an introduction. The same is the case with the Nirálambopanishad (32),180 which, however, exhibits essentially the Yoga standpoint. The Atmopanishad (33), in prose, contains an inquiry by Angiras into the three factors (purushas), the body, the soul, and the All-Soul,* The Pránágnihotropanishad (34), in prose, points out the relation of the parts and functions of the body to those of the sacrifice, whence by implication it follows that the latter is unnecessary. At its conclusion it promises to him who reads this Upanishad the same reward as he receives who expires in Váránasí, viz., deliverance from transmigration. 151 The Arshikopanishad (? 35) contains a dialogue on the nature of Atman between Viśvámitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvája, Gautama, and Vasishtha, the last of whom,appealing to the opinion of "K'hak" (? another MS. in Anguetil has "Kapl" = Kapila?), obtains the assent of the others 182

Burnouf, Introd. à l'Hist. du Buddh. Ind., p. 215. [Text and translation see now in my essay Die Vajrasúchi des Aśvaghosha (1860). By Haug, Brahman und die Brahmanen, p. 29, the Upanishad is described as sáma-

178 See my Catalogue of the Berlin MSS., p. 180. By Rajendra Lala Mitra, however (Notices of Sanskrit MSS., i. 10, 11), a different text is cited as the śrimachhamkarácháryavirachitá tripuryupanishad.

179 See I. St., i. 301; edited with Narayana's comm. in Bibl. Ind. 1874; described in the introd. as Taittiriyake | sarropanishadám sárah saptatrinse chaturdase (!?).

180 See Rájendra Lála Mitra, ii. 95. Taylor, Catalogue of Oriental MSS. of the Callege Fort St. George, ii.

* Translated in I. St., ii. 56, 57. [Text and Náráyana's comm. in Bibl. Ind. 1873; described in the introd. as khandatrayánvitá | ashtávinsi gran-thasamghe sákhá Saunakavartitá.]

181 Text and Náráyana's comm. in Bibl. Ind. 1873; described in the introd. as ekadasi Saunakiye; see Taylor, ii. 472. Rájendra L. M. i. 49. Burnell, Catalogue, p. 63.

182 See I. St., ix. 48-52. name of the Upanishad is not yet certain.

The second class of the Atharropanishads, as above stated, is made up of those whose subject is Yora or absorption in Atman, the stages of this absorption, and the external means of attaining it. These last chiefly consist in the giving up of all earthly connections, and in the frequent recetition of the word on, which plays a most prominent part, and is itself therefore the subject of deep study. Yajusvalkya is repeatedly named in the Uranishods of this class as the teacher of the doctrines they set furth: and indeed it would seem that we ought to look upon him as one of the chief promoters of the system of relicious mendianny so intimately associated with the Yege-deciring. Thus, in the Tilrah position '36, he instructs Biandvij's ss to the saying and sinding-tiling elimon of the word on, is and similarly in the Scholegenthiad '37, * Scholege as to true emandication. The one, however in which he stands out most imminently is the Jakelmanial (35). in press, which, increaver, bears the name of a school of the White Yajus, although no don't wrongly as it must in any case to considered as merely an aminutes of the Arapyala of this Vein (see I.S., ii. 72-77). Still, it must have been composed before the Elimpiana-Situs, as several purposed in the second in the litter triless these passages have been borrowed from to the mole of life of the Paramelants, or relative mentions, are also in addition to the Upanish furinteriored, the Articleus (eg. Celebrate gives the name interestly as Articleus), in pres, and the Aranticpeathlas (al). Names in pres, foculars to be

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regarded as supplements to the Aranyaka of the Black Yajus, as the Jábálopanishad is to that of the White Yajus. The Bhallavi-Upanishad (41) also belongs to this class, to judge by quotations from it, and so does the Samvartaśruti (42); similarly the Samnyasopanishad (43) and the Paramahansopanishad (44), both in prose.* Hansopanishad (45) I have not yet met with; but from its name it probably also belongs to this place. 185 The Asramopanishad (46), in prose, gives a classification of the four Indian orders—the Brahmachárins, Grihasthas. Vánaprasthas, and Parivrájakas. It is even quoted by Samkara, and the names applied in it to the several classes The Srimaddattopanishad (47) consists are now obsolete. of twelve slokas put into the mouth of one of these religious mendicants, and uniformly concluding with the refrain: tasyá 'ham pañchamásramam, "I am his. i.e.. brahman's, fifth Aśrama." Apart from the two Upanishads already mentioned, the Mándúkya and the Táraka, the investigation of the sacred word om is principally conducted in the Atharvasikhá (48), in prose (explained by Samkara), in which instruction is given on this subject by Atharvan to Pippaláda, Sanatkumára, and Angiras;† further, in the Brahmavidyá (49), in thirteen ślokas, now and then quoted by Samkara; ‡ and lastly, in the Saunaka

edited in Bibl. Ind. (1873), with Náráyana's commentary; although under the name Kantha°, it is clear from Nárávana's words in his introduction, Yajurvede tu Charaká dvádaśai 'shá kuṇṭháśrayaḥ (!) | saṃnyásopanishattulya chatuhkhanda krita(!) srutil | that this mode of spelling here, as well as in Burnell's Catalogue, p. 60, is a mere mistake, and that Náráyana himself connected the Upanishad with the Kathas; see also Bühler, Catalogue of MSS. from Guj., i. 58.]

The Paramahansopanishad is translated in I. St., ii., 173-176. [Text with Nár.'s comm. in Bibl. Ind., 1874; described in the introd. as trikhandá 'tharrasikhare chatrárinśattami. - The Samnyasopanishad, too, is printed ibid., 1872; we there find a direct reference made to four

anuvákas of the Ath, S. (xviii.); their text is therefore given by the editor in the scholium, and that in a double form acc. to two MSS. (pp. 131-175); see also Rájendra L. M.
 54, Taylor, ii. 469.]
 185 Text and Nár.'s comm. in Bibl.

Ind., 1874; described in the introd. as ashtatrinsattamî | átharvane. By Rajendralal., i. 90, a comm. by Samkaránanda is specified; see besides Burnell, p. 65.

† See I. St., ii. 55.—Here, therefore, we have Pippalada and Angiras appearing side by side (see above, [Text and Nar.'s comm. p. 160). in Bibl. Ind., 1873; described in the introd. as saptami mundát.]

Translated in I. St., ii. 58. [Text and Nar.'s comm. in Bibl.

Ind., 1873.]

(50) and the Pranara (51). These two are found in Anquetil only. 130 The various stages of gradual absorption into Atman form the contents of the following Upanishads (52-59): Hansanda (in prose), Kishurika (24 Slokas), Madarindu (20 Slokas), Brahmavindu (22 (38 Slokas), kas), Yoga-kas), Yoga-kas), Yoga-kas, Yoga-kas

while the

majesty of Atman himself is depicted in the Chalika (60, in 21 stokas) and Triovinatu (61, in 14 stokas): * in the former direct reference is repeatedly made to the doctrine of the Atharvans. The range of ideas and the style are quite identical in all the Upanishads just enumerated. The latter frequently suffers from great obscurity, partly because there occur distinct grammatical inaccuracies, partly because the construction is often very broken and without unity. Many verses recur in several of them; many again are borrowed from the Svetisvataropanishad or Maitriyunopanishad. Contempt for caste as well as for writing (grantha) is a trait which appears again and again in almost all these Upanishads, and one might therefore be inclined to regard them as directly Buddhistic, were they not entirely free from all Buddhistic dogma. This agreement is to be explained simply by the fact that Buddhism itself must be considered as having been originally only a form of the Samkhya-doctrine.

The sectarian Upanishads have been set down as forming the third class. They substitute for Atman one of the forms of Vishnu or Siva, the earlier ones following the Yoga-doctrine most closely, whilst in those of a modern date the personal element of the respective deities comes

¹⁸⁶ See I. St., ix. 52-53 and 49-52; the Pronavopanished is mentioned by Taylor, 11. 328 * For the Hawandda see I. St.,

i. 385-387; the Kahuriki is trans-

yan's comm. (1872-73), excepting the Hansandopanishad, which, however, seems to be identical with the Hansandiad printed titl. In the Introductions to the comm. Chulidi is described as pair-ham's Brehmavindu as ashidadi Sunadanganthavistare; Dhydnavindu as

^{12. 23-25;} Lautild, 12. 10-21. An these Upanisheds are now published in the Bibliotheca Indica with Nard-

more and more into the foreground. A special characteristic of this class are the unmeasured promises usually held out at the close of the work to him who reads and studies it, as also the quotation and veneration of sacred formulas containing the name of the particular deity.

First, as regards the Upanishads of the Vishnu-sects,the oldest form under which Vishnu is worshipped is Náráyana. We find this name for the first time in the second part of the Satapatha-Bráhmana, where, however, it is not in any way connected with Vishnu; it rather stands, as at the commencement of Manu and the Vishnu-Purána, in the sense of Brahman (mascul.). This is also the case in the Náráyaníyopanishad of the Taittiríya-Áranyaka, and in its Atharvan-recension as Brihannáráyanopanishad, although in the latter he is at least called Hari, and in one passage brought into direct relation to Vásudeva and Vishnu. It is in the Mahá-Upanishad (62),—a prose tract, which * in its first part contains the emanation of the universe from Narayana, and in its second a paraphrase of the principal passage of the Náráyaniyopanishad,—that Narayana first distinctly appears as the representative of Vishnu, since Śúlapáni (Śiva) and Brahman proceed from him, and Vishnu is not mentioned at In the Narayanopanishad (64, in prose),187 on the contrary, Vishnu also emanates from him, exactly as in the Náráyana section t of the twelfth book of the Mahá-Bhárata (a book which in other respects also is of special significance in relation to the Samkhya- and Yoga-doctrines). The sacred formula here taught is: om namo Náráyanáya. There exists of this Upanishad another, probably a later, recension which forms part of the Atharvasiras to be mentioned hereafter, and in which Devakíputra Madhusúdana is mentioned as particularly brahmanya, pious, as is also the case in the Atmaprabodha-Upanishad (65), which like-

187 See also Rájendra L. M. i. 12, 91 (comm. by Śamkaráuanda).

^{*} Translated in I. St., ii. 5-8 [see also Taylor, ii. 468, Rajendra L. M. i. 25]; besides it there must have existed another Maha-Upan. (63), which is cited by the adherents of the Madhava sect as a warrant for their belief in a personal soul of the universe, distinct from the soul of man.

[†] At the time of the (last?) arrangement of the present text of the Mahá-Bhárata, Náráyana worship must have been particularly flourishing.

wise celebrates Náráyana as the Supreme Lord; ¹³⁸ see *I. St.*, ii. 8, 9. He (Náráyana) is named, besides, in the same quality in the Garbhopanishad (in a passage recurring in the Nirukti, xiv.) and in the Sákalyopanishad.

The second form under which we find Vishnu worshipped is Arisinha. The earliest mention of him hitherto known appears in the Taitt. Ar, x. 1. 8 (in the Nareyaniyop), under the name of Nárasmha, and with the epithets raranakha and tikshnadanshtra. The only Upanishad in which he is worshipped is the Nrisinhatapaniyopanishad (in prose). It is relatively of considerable extent, and is also counted as six separate Upamshads (66-71), as it consists of two parts," the first of which is in turn subdivided into five distinct Upanishads. The first part treats of the Anushtubh-formula + sacred to Nrisinha, the mantrarája nárasinha ánushtubha, with which the most wondrous tricks are played; wherein we have to recognise the first beginnings of the later Malamantras with their Tantra-ceremonial. A great portion of the Mandukyopanishad is incorporated into it, and the existence also of the Atharvasikhá is presupposed, as it is directly quoted. contents of the second part are of a more speculative character; but in respect of mystical trifling it does not yield to the first part. In both, the triad-Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva-is repeatedly mentioned. As regards language, the expression buddha for the supreme Atman, which occurs (along with nitya, suddha, satya, mukta, &c.) in the second part, is of peculiar interest; and the expression is still retained in Gaudapáda and Samkara; originally it belongs evidently to the Samkhya school (see above, pp. 27, 129).

This Upanishad has been interpreted by Gaudapuda and Samkara; and in addition to much that is quite modern, it presents a great deal that is ancient. It probably dates from about the fourth century A.D., as at that

¹⁸⁵ See also Rajendra L. M., III.

^{36;} Taylor, it 328.

* The above-mentioned lists of Upunishads in the Chambers collection admit a Madhyakipini also [see my Catalogue, p. 95].

⁺ It runs ugram riram mahdruh.

time the Nrisinha worship flourished on the western coast of India, while otherwise we find no traces of it. 189

The Rámatápaníyopanishad (72, 73), in which Ráma is worshipped as the Supreme God, shows a great resemblance to the Nrisinhatápaníyop., especially in its second part. This second part, which is in prose, is, properly speaking, nothing but a collection of pieces from the Tarakopanishad, Mándúkyopanishad, Jábálopanishad, and Nrisinhopanishad, naturally with the necessary alterations. Yainavalkya here appears as the proclaimer of the divine glory of Ráma. A London MS. adds at the close a long passage which is unknown to the commentator Anandayana (a native of the town Kundina). The crowning touch of the sectarian element in this Upanishad is found in the circumstance that Ráma is implored by Siva (Samkara) himself to spare those a second birth who die in Manikarnika or in the Gangá generally, the two principal seats of the Siva worship. The first part, in ninety-five ślokas, contains at the beginning a short sketch of Ráma's life, which bears a great similarity to that at the beginning of the Adhyátmarámáyana (in the Brahmánda-Purána). The Mantrarája is next taught by the help of a mystical alphabet, specially invented for the purpose.* This Upanishad evidently belongs to the school of Rámánuja, possibly to Rámánuja himself, consequently its earliest date would be eleventh century A.D. 190

Under the names Vishņu, Purushottama, and Vásudeva, Vishņu is mentioned as the supreme Atman in several

shad (1864); text and Náráy.'s comm. in Bibl. Ind. also (1873); in the introductions the two sections are called pañchatrinsattama and shattrinsa respectively. The time of composition is probably even later than above supposed. In the first place, according to Nrisinha's statements in his Smrityarthasara (see Aufrecht, Catalogus, pp. 285^b, 286^a), Rámánuja flourished as late as the twelfth century (sake 1049 = A.D. 1127). But further, the Rámatápaní displays still closer relations to Rámánanda, who is supposed to have lived towards the end of the fourteenth century; see my essay, p. 382.

¹⁸⁹ See text and translation of this Upanishad in I. St., ix. 53-173; and specially on the chronological question, pp. 62, 63. In the Bibl. Indica also, this Upanishad has been published by Rámamaya Tarkaratna (1870-71), with Samkara's commentary (it is, however, doubtful whether the commentary on the second part belongs to Samkara), together with the small (Nárasinha) shatchakropanishad and Nárayana's comm. on it.

on it.
* The Nárasinha- and a VáráhaMantra are also mentioned.

³⁰⁰ See text and translation in my essay Die Rama - Tapaniya - Upani-

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Upanishad has been expounded by Samkara. Under the same title, "head of Atharvan,"—a name that is also borne by Brahman himself, although in a different relation,there exists a second Upanishad, itself a conglomeration of five different Upanishads referring to the five principal deities, Ganapati (79), Náráyana, Rudra, Súrya (80), and Deví (81).* Its Nárávana-portion is a later recension of the Narayanopanishad (64, see above, p. 166), and the Rudra-portion follows the first chapter of the Atharvasiras All five have been translated by Vans Kennedy. In the Mahá-Bhárata (i. 2882), and the Code of Vishnu. where the Atharvasiras is mentioned along with the Bharundáni sámáni, and in Vishnu also, where it appears beside the Satarudriya (as the principal means of expiation), the reference probably is to the Upanishad explained by Samkara (?).—The Rudrop, and Atharvaniya-Rudrop, are known to me only through the Catalogue of the India Office Library. Possibly they are identical with those already named; I therefore exclude them from my list. The Mrityulanghanopanishad (82) is quite modern, and with it is wor-

the Kaivalyopanishad printed in Bibl. Ind., 1874; the first commentary is that of Narayana; the second is described by the editor as that of Samkara, in the colophon as that of Samkarananda; it follows, however, from Rajendra Lala Mitra's Cataloque, i. 32, that it is different from the commentary written by the latter; and according to the same authority, ii. 247, it is identical rather with that of Vidyáranya. In Nárávana's introduction this Upanishad is described (exactly like the Jábálop. !) as ekachatvárinsattami. The Siras- or Atharvasiras - Upanishad is likewise printed in Bibl. Ind. (1872), with Náráyana's comm., which describes it as rudrádhyáyah saptakhandah. See also Rajendral., i. 32 (comm. by Samkaránanda), 48.1 * See I. St., ii. 53, and Vans Ken-

* See I. St., ii. 53, and Vans Kennedy, Researches into the Nature and Apinity of Hindu and Ancient Mythology, p. 442, &c. [Taylor, ii. 469-471. By Rajendral., i. 61, a Gana-

patyapúrvatápaníyopanishad is mentioned; by Bühler, Cat. of MSS, from Guj., i. 70, a Ganapatipúrvatápiní and a Ganesatápiní; and by Kielhorn. Sanskrit MSS. in the Southern Division of the Bombay Pres. (1869), p. 14, a Ganapatipúrvatápaniyopanishad.]

+ So we have probably to understand Anquetil's Amrat Lankoul, since he has also another form, Mrat Lankoun; instead of, id est halitus mortis,' we ought to read 'salitus mortis.' [See now I. St., ix. 21-23; according to this it is doubtful whether the name ought not to be written Mrityuláñgúla (?). An Upanishad named Mrityulanghana is mentioned by Bühler, Cat. of MSS. from Guj., i. 120; a Mrstyulängula, however, appears as S2d Upanishad in the Catalogue of Pandit Radhakrishna's library. Finally, Burnell, in publishing the text in the Indian Antiquary, ii. 266, gives the form Mrityulángala.]

thily associated the Külägnirudropanishad (83),¹²³ in prose, of which there are no less than three different recensions, one of which belongs to the Nandikešvara-Upapurina. The Tripuropanishad (84) also appears from its name—otherwise it is unknown to me—to belong to this division; ¹²⁴ it has been interpreted by Bhatta Bhiskara Misra. The Skandopanishad (85), in fifteen ślokas, is also Siva-itic ¹²⁶ (likewise the Amritandadopanishad). The adoration of Siva's spouse, his Sakta,—the origin of which may be traced back to the Kenopanishad and the Nariyaniyopanishad,—is the subject of the Sundaritajaniyopanishad (known to me by name only), in five parts (85–90), as well as of the Devi-Upanishad (79), which has already been mentioned. The Kaulopanishad (91), in prose, also belongs to a Śākta sectary *

Lastly, a few Upanishads (92-95) have to be mentioned, which are known to me only by their names, names which do not enable us to draw any conclusion as to their contents, viz., the Pindopanishad, Nitaruhopanishad (Colebrooke has Nitaruhopanishad, nampalopanishad, and Darśanovanishad. The Garudopanishad (96), of which I know two totally different texts, celebrates the serpent-destroyer Garuda, † and is not without some antiquarian interest.

¹⁸³ It treats specially of the tripundravidhi; see Taylor, i. 461; lkljendr., i. 59; Burnell, p. 61. 184 See on it Taylor, ii. 470; Bur-

nell, p. 62.

193 * Identifies Siva with Vishnu,
and teaches the doctrines of the

Advaita school." Taylor, ii. 467; Burnell, p. 65. • In the Tejovindu (61) also,

brahman is described as dnata, filmbrata, fdLta.

¹⁹³ The Pindop, and the Nilarudrop.—this is its proper name—are now printed in Bibl. Ind. (1873), with Narayan's comm.; the former, which treats of the pindas to the pretos, is described by Narayana as

saptaviniatipidroni, the latter as stodaii: it is addressed to Rudra (see also Ritjendral., i 51), and consists only of verses, which closely follow those contained in Vij. S. xv. On the Paingalop and Darsanop., see

Taylor, it. 468-471.

+ As is done in the Adrayantyoranishad also, and more especially

St, xiv. 1, il — the balogopunishas is now printed in Bibl. Ind. (1874), with Naraysna's commentary; in the introduction it is described as chaluschatarinistians.

SECOND PERIOD.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

SECOND PERIOD.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

HAVING thus followed the first period of Indian literature, in its several divisions, down to its close, we now turn to its second period, the so-called Sanskrit literature. Here, however, as our time is limited, we cannot enter so much into detail as we have hitherto done, and we must therefore content ourselves with a general survey. In the case of the Vedic literature, details were especially essential, both because no full account of it had yet been given, and because the various works still lie, for the most part, shut up in the manuscripts; whereas the Sanskrit literature has already been repeatedly handled, partially at least, and the principal works belonging to it are generally accessible.

Our first task, naturally, is to fix the distinction between the second period and the first. This is, in part, one of age, in part, one of subject-matter. The former distinction is marked by the language and by direct data; the latter by the nature of the subject-matter itself, as well as by

the method of treating it.

As regards the language, in the first place, in so far as it grounds a distinction in point of age between the two periods of Indian literature, its special characteristics in the second period, although apparently slight, are yet, in reality, so significant that it appropriately furnishes the name for the period; whereas the earlier one receives its designation from the works composing it.

Among the various dialects of the different Indo-Aryan tribes, a greater unity had in the course of time been established after their immegration into India, as the natural result of their intermingling in their new homes, and of

The gramneir combination into larger communities. natical * study, moreover, which by degrees became neceshary for the interpretation of the ancient texts, and which grew up in connection therewith, had had the effect of substantially fixing the usage; so that a generally recognised language, known as the bháshá, had arisen, that, namely, in which the Brahmanas and Sútras are composed.† Now the greater the advance made by the study of grammar, the more stringent and precise its precepts and rules became, and all the more difficult it was for those who did not occupy themselves specially therewith to keep in constant accord with grammatical accuracy. The more the language of the grammatically educated gained on the one hand in purity, and in being purged of. everything not strictly regular, the more foreign did it become on the other hand to the usage of the majority of the people, who were without grammatical training. In this way a refined language gradually disconnected itself from the vernacular, as more and more the exclusive property of the higher classes of the people; t the estrangewhich the word bhashya is used in the Grihya Sutra of Stnkhayana,

* Respecting the use of the verb ryakri in a grammatical signification, Sayana in his introduction to the Rik (p. 35, 22 ed. Muller) adduces a legend from a Brahmana, which represents Indra as the oldest grainmarian. (See Lissen, I. AK., ii. 175.) [The legend is taken from the All that is there is the rich was stated, indeed, is that rack was vyákritá by Indra; manifestly, however, the later my the which do actually set up Indra as the oldest grammarian connect themselves with this

† Bháshika svara in Kityáyana, Sranta-Sútra, i. S. 17, is expressly passage.] interpreted as brahmana-srara; see Váj. Samh. Specimen, il. 196. 197.
Váj. Samh. Specimen, il. 196. 197.
I. St., x. 428-429, 437.] Yáska
I. St., x. 428-429, bhúsháyám and
repeatedly opposes 'in the Ved.
anvadhyáyam (i.e., in the Ved. in the text of the hymns') to each other; similarly, the Prati-Sakhya - Satras employ the words reading, bháshá and bháshya as opposed to chhandas and reda, i.e., samhitit (see above, pp. 57, 103, 144). The way in

namely, in contradistinction to Sutra, shows that its meaning had already by this time become essentially modified, and become restricted, precisely as it is in Panini, to the extra-Vedic, so to say, profane literature. (The Aśvalitvana-Grihya gives instend of bhashya, in the corresponding passage, bhárata-mahábháraladharma.) [This is incorrect; rather, in the passage in question, these words follow the word bhashya; see the note on this point at p. 56.1 the same way, in the Nir. xiii. 9, the same way, in the Nir. xiii. 9, mantra, kalpa, bráhmana, and the ryávahárikí (sc. bháshá) are opposed to each other (and also Rik, Yajus, Saman, and the vyávaháriki).

+ Ought the passage cited in Nir xiii. 9 from a Brahmana [cf. Kath xiv. 5], to the effect that the Bral mans spoke both tongues, that the gods as well as that of men, be taken in this connection? or this reference merely to a concept resembling the Homeric one?

ment between the two growing more and more marked, as the popular dialect in its turn underwent further develop-This took place mainly under the influence of those aboriginal inhabitants who had been received into the Brahmanic community; who, it is true, little by little exchanged their own language for that of their conquerors, but not without importing into the latter a large number of new words and of phonetic changes, and, in particular, very materially modifying the pronunciation. This last was all the more necessary, as the numerous accumulations of consonants in the Aryan bháshá presented exceeding difficulties to the natives; and it was all the easier, as there had evidently prevailed within the language itself from an early period a tendency to clear away these troublesome encumbrances of speech,-a tendency to which, indeed, the study of grammar imposed a limit, so far as the educated portion of the Aryans was concerned, but which certainly maintained itself, and by the very nature of the case continued to spread amongst the people at large. This tendency was naturally furthered by the native inhabitants, particularly as they acquired the language not from those who were conversant with grammar, but from intercourse and association with the general body of the people. In this way "

ing directly from it mai

ceeding in common from. The term directly opposed to it is not samiria, but caliria; see, e.g. Ath. Paris.49, I, "rarnda pāra en ryāklyā aydmaḥ prālīna ye cha valārījā." The earliest instances as yet known of the name Samārjā as a designation of the language occur in the Alpichabakul (p. 44 2, ch. Stender), and in Vardis-Millia Brihat-Sunitid, S.5. The following passages

then that of 'ordinary,' communis,' rulgaris, and lastly, that of 'pro-

Sanslyia, but does not use it in this sense; though the Paniniya-Skshi does so employ it (v. 3), in contradistinction to prairia.

ne curtailment or loss of terminations. Not unfrequently, ovever, they present older forms of these than are found n the written language, partly because the latter has rigorously eliminated all forms in any way irregular or obsolete, but partly also, no doubt, from the circumstance that grammar was cultivated principally in the north or northwest of India, and consequently adapted itself specially to the usage there prevailing. And in some respects (e.g., in the instr. plur. of words in a?) 197 this usage may have attained a more developed phase than appears to have. accumed a more developed phase man appears to have been the case in India Proper, * since the language was not there hampered in its independent growth by any external influence; whereas the Aryans who had passed into India maintained their speech upon the same internal level on which it stood at the time of the immigration, how-

197 This example is not quite pertinent, as the instr. plur. in -ais is of very ancient date, being reflected not only in Zend, but also in Slavonic and Lithuanian; see Bopp,

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ever considerable were the external modifications which it underwent.

The second period of Indian literature, then, commences with the epoch when the separation of the language of the educated classes-of the written language-from the popular dialects was an accomplished fact. It is in the former alone that the literature is presented to us. Not till after the lapse of time did the vernaculars also in their turn produce literatures of their own -in the first instance under the influence of the Buddhist religion, which addressed itself to the people as such, and whose scriptures and records, therefore, were originally, as for the most part they still are, composed in the popular idiom. The epoch in question cannot at present be precisely determined; vet we may with reasonable certainty infer the existence of the written language also, at a time when we are in a position to point to the existence of popular dialects; and with respect to these we possess historical evidence of a rare order, in those rock-inscriptions, of identical purport, which have been discovered at Girnar in the Gujarát peninsula, at Dhauli in Orissa, and at Kapur di Giri 108 in

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¹⁹³ This name ought probably to be written Kapardigiri I See my paper on the Saturquiyaya Mikhatmya, p. 118. In these inscriptions, moreover, we have a text, similar in pur-

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denkstukken van Atoka den Buddhis (1873, particularly p. 32 ff., 45 ff).

^{*} And that not much later; as is vouched for by the names of the Greek kups therein mentioned— Alexander, Antigonus, Magas, Ptolemy, Antiochus. These cannot, it is true, be regarded as contemporaneous with the inscriptions; but their notoriety in India can bardly have been of such long duration that the inscriptions can have been

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growth of the second period, the difficulty of connecting them with the earlier age is very great. We have here a distinct gap which it is altogether impossible to fill up, The reason of this lies simply in the fact, that owing to the difficulty of preserving literary works, the fortunate successor almost always wholly supplanted the predecessor it surpassed: the latter thus became superfluous, and was consequently put aside, no longer committed to memory, no longer copied. In all these branches therefore-unless some other influence has supervened-we are in possession only of those master-works in which each attained its culminating point, and which in later times served as the classical models upon which the modern literature was formed, itself more or less destitute of native productive energy. This fact has been already adduced as having proved equally fatal in the case of the more ancient Brahmana literature, &c.; there, much to the same extent as here, it exercised its lamentable, though natural influence. In the Vedic literature also, that is to say, in its Sákhás, we find the best analogy for another kindred point, namely, that some of the principal works of this period are extant in several-generally two-recensions. But along with this a further circumstance has to be noted, which, in consequence of the great care expended upon the sacred literature, has comparatively slight application to it, namely, that the mutual relation of the manuscripts is of itself such as to render any certain restoration of an original text for the most part hopeless. It is only in cases where ancient commentaries exist that the text is in some degree certain. for the time at least to which these commentaries belong. This is evidently owing to the fact that these works were originally preserved by oral tradition; their consignment to writing only took place later, and possibly in different localities at the same time, so that discrepancies of all sorts were inevitable. But besides these variations there are many alterations and additions which are obviously of a wholly arbitrary nature, partly made intentionally, and partly due to the mistakes of transcribers. In reference to this latter point, in particular, the fact must not be lost sight of that, in consequence of the destructive influence of the climate, copies had to be renewed very frequently. As a rule, the more ancient Indian manuscripts



language of which, however, is a very peculiar one, and is, moreover, restricted to a definite field. In fact, as the result of this neglect, prose-writing was completely arrested in the course of its development, and declined altogether. Anything more clumsy than the prose of the later Indian romances, and of the Indian commentaries, can hardly be; and the same may be said of the prose of the inscriptions.

This point must not be left out of view, when we now proceed to speak of a classification of the Sanskrit literature into works of Poetry, works of Science and Art, and works relating to Law, Custom, and Worship. All alike appear in a poetic form, and by 'Poetry' accordingly in this classification we understand merely what is usually styled belles-lettres, though certainly with an important modification of this sense. For while, upon the one hand, the poetic form has been extended to all branches of the literature, upon the other, as a set-off to this, a good deal of practical prose has entered into the poetry itself, imparting to it the character of poetry 'with a purpose.' Of the epic poetry this is especially true.

It has long been customary to place the Epic Poetry at the head of Sanskrit literature; and to this custom we here conform, although its existing monuments cannot justly pretend to pass as more ancient than, for example, Panini's grammar, or the law-book which bears the name of Manu. We have to divide the epic poetry into two distinct groups: the Itihása-Puránas and the Káryas. We have already more than once met with the name lithása-Purána.

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apply to the legendary passages in the Brahmanas themsolves, and not to separate works; and also that, from a passage in the thirteenth book of the Satapatha-Brahmana, it results with tolerable certainty that distinct works of this description cannot then have existed, inasmuch as the division into parrans, which is usual in the extant writings of this class, is there expressly attributed to other works, and is not employed in reference to these Itihdsa-Puranas themselves. On the other hand, in the Sarpa-vidya (serpent-knowledge) and the Devajana-vidya (... 1



Parasars is represented with especial frequency in the rankas of the White Yajus.* We also find repeated allugions in the Brihmanas to a Naimishiva sacrifice, and, on the authority of the Maha-Bharata itself, it was at such a sacrifice that the second recitation of the enic took place in presence of a Sannaka. But, as has likewise been remarked above [pp. 34, 45], these two sacrifices must be kept distinct. and indeed there is no mention in the Brihmanas of a Saunaka as participating in the former. Nav. several such sacrifices may have taken place in the Naimi ha forest [see p 34]; or it is possible even that the statement as to the recitation in question may have no more foundation than the desire to give a peculiar consecration to the work. For it is utterly absurd to suppose that Vydsa Párásarya and Vaisampayana-teachers mentioned for the first time in the Taittiriya-Aranyaka-could have been anterior to the sacrifice referred to in the Brahmanas. The mention of the "Bharata" and of the "Maha-Bharata" itself in the Grihya-Sútras of Asvaláyana [and Sánkháyana] we have characterised [p. 58] as an interpolation or else an indication that these Sutras are of very late date. In Papini the word "Mahá-Bhárata" does indeed occur; not however, as denoting the epic of this name, but as an appellative to designate any individual of apocial distinction among the Bharatas, like Mahn-Jahalla, - Hallihila (nee 1, 5). ii. 73). Still, we do find names mentioned in Papini which belong specially to the story of the Malut-Illumin -namely, . 'may Andhaka. must in any case

Late been current in its day, positive even in a positive shape; however surprising it may be that the name Pandu‡ is never mentioned by him. The earliest direct

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the gods')-to which, in the passage in question, the distribution into parvans, that is to say, existence in a distinct form, is expressly assigned—we have in all probability to recognise mythological accounts, which from their nature might very well be regarded as precursors of the epic. We have likewise already specified as forerunners of the epic poetry, those myths and legends which are found interspersed throughout the Brahmanas, here and there, too. in rhythmic form,* or which lived on elsewhere in the tradition regarding the origin of the songs of the Rik. Indeed, a few short prose legends of this sort have been actually preserved here and there in the epic itself. The Gáthás also-stanzas in the Bráhmanas, extolling individual deeds of prowess—have already been cited in the like connection: they were sung to the accompaniment of the lute, and were composed in honour either of the prince of the day or of the pious kings of old (see I. St., i. 187). As regards the extant epic—the Mahá-Bhárata—specially, we have already pointed out the mention in the Taittiríya-Áranyaka, of Vyása Párásarya 100 and Vaisampáyana, 200 who are given in the poem itself as its original authors; and we have also remarked (p. 143) that the family of the

* As, for instance, the story of Harischandra in the second part of the Aitareya-Brahmana.

199 Vyása Párásarya is likewise mentioned in the vansa of the Samavidhána-Bráhmana, as the disciple of Vishvaksena, and preceptor of Jaimini; see I. St., iv. 377.—The Mahábháshya, again, not only contains frequent allusions to the legend of the Mahá-Bhárata, and even metrical quotations that connect themselves with it, but it also contains the name of Suka Vaiyasaki; and from this it is clear that there was then already extant a poetical version of the Mahá-Bhárata story; see I. St., xiii. 357. Among the prior births of Buddha is one (No. 436 in Westergaard's Catalogus, p. 40), bearing the name Kanha-Dipáyana,

i.e., Krishna-Dvaipayana!

200 Vaisampayana appears elsewhere frequently, but always in spe-

cial relation to the transmission of the Yajur-Veda. By Pánini, it is true (iv. 3. 104), he is simply cited generally as a Vedic teacher, but the: Mahabhashya, commenting on this passage, describes him as the teacher of Katha and Kalapin. In the Cal-cutta Scholium, again, we find further particulars (from what source? cf. Táránátha on Siddh. Kaum., i. 590), according to which (see. I. St., xiii. 440) nine Vedic schools, and among them two belonging to the Sama-Veda, trace their origin to him. In the Rig-Grihya he is evidently regarded (see above, pp. 57, 58), after the manner of the Vishnu-Purana, as the special representative of the Yajur-Veda; and so he appears in the Anukr. of the Atreyi school, at the head of its list of teachers, specially as the preceptor of Yaska Paingi.

Paisins is numerical with expectal fractions in the ección af the Films Lights. We also find repented all'iem in the Endowens to a Valentaire statute and on the exchanged the Mail-Minus design was at such a service that the arroll recitation of the each took place in posenseta Šurata. Pra ustas Resvisa bom resuriaabore fro. ac. cal these two mornings must be have elected. andindesi there's no membro in the Emilmons of a Surnaha as participating in the former. Nav. several and source fices may have taken place in the National factor face of the or it is possible even that the superment as to the regulation in question may have no more formitties that the desire to give a peculiar consecration to the work. For it is utterly absurd to suppose that Vyisa Piniture and Valśampóvana—teachers mentioned for the for the to the Taittiriya-Aranyaka—could have been anterior to the mirifice referred to in the Brahmanas. The mention of the "Bharata" and of the "Maha-Bharata" itself in the Grihya-Sútras of Ásvaláyana [and Śifikháyana] we have characterised [p. 58] as an interpolation or else an in ligation that these Sutras are of very late date. In Pinini the word "Mahá-Bhárata" does indeed occur; not, however, as denoting the epic of this name, but as an appellative to designate any individual of special distinction among the Bháratas, like Mahá-Jábala,-Hailihila (see I. St., ii. 73). Still, we do find names mentioned in Pro-

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^{349,} ff ; Ind. Antiq. 1r. 246] This name only occurs in the 228, 229 (25, 26).

This renders Lassen's reference Mahi-Bharata and in the works resting upon it. Yet the Buddhists mention a mountain tribe of Pindivas, as alike the foes of the Sikyas, (i.e., the Kocalus) and of the inhabitants of Ujjayini; see Schief. ner, Leben des Sakyamuni, pp. 4, 40 in the latter passage they appear to be connected with Takshasilai), and, further, Lassen, I. AK, il 100, ff. Foncaux, Raya Cher Rol Pa, pp.